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NOTES

At the Cross-roads

India is at the cross-roads. Internally there are the inter-provincial and intra-provincial stresses, accentuated by the power-drunkenness of some of the provincial leaders and ministers; further there are the problems arising out of the continuous influx of hordes of refugees, and last of all there is the question of party-alignments, inside and outside the Congress, which have grown sharper and more pronounced after the passing of the Mahatma.

There is a tendency at the Centre, and even more so in the A.-I. C. C., to adopt an ostrich-like policy with regard to all vexatious problems, internal or external. Postponement of consideration of the problems seems to be the order of the day. It seems we have yet to learn the grim lesson in history that was given only a short decade back by Neville Chamberlain, with his motto of "Pe-ace in our time, O Lord!" We are only too prone to forget that the day of reckoning becomes more terrible with each postponement and the only way for attaining peace lies through strife and struggle and through relentless and active opposition to the forces of evil.

The most serious aspect of the present-day situation is the fact that the nation's appointed leaders seem to have forgotten that they have attained their eminent positions only through the sanction of the people. It is folly to imagine that there are some supernatural or Divine rights—like that of mediaeval kings—behind Congress pro-consulships and that tales of past sacrifices, real or fictitious, would enable them to keep the reins of the State in their hands for eternity. Today at the Centre of the Indian Union, our executive are grievously out of contact with the mass-mind. The assassination of the Mahatma showed up that fact with the blinding clarity of a flash of lightning.

There are some tremendous stresses and strains, due to acts of injustice and wrongs inflicted on the suffering people of some provinces by British despotism. Now that that curse has been removed, those wrongs must be righted and equity must be restored with even-handed justice. If any leader stands in the way, either through evil intent or through blind arrogance, he must be removed. There is no other way to eliminate these fissiparous tendencies. The alternative to that is disaster, and we must not forget that Nemesis cannot be stalled off by mere clap-trap and catch-phrases. Power-madness of some of our big party-politicians must be condemned in unequivocal terms, as it is causing irreparable damage in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. Bihar, today, stands as an outstanding example of all that is reprehensible in the spheres of inter-provincial and intra-provincial politics, thanks to the blind faith of Babu Rajendra Prasad in his disciples.

The Socialist Party stands at the parting of the ways at the time of writing. The Congress High Command has only to thank itself for this lamentable occurrence. Youth and action cannot be denied its rights in perpetuity by age and intolerance. The inevitable is taking place as the natural consequence, and with the separation of the Left from the main body politic, the Congress stands more than a chance of becoming in reality what the Communists and the League have falsely accused it to be in the past, unless the A.-I. C. C. comes to its senses in time. The Socialist Party was the most powerful weapon in the hands of the Congress, against the Communist campaign for the disruption of the State, through rabid disaffection and complete demoralization of Labour. Tomorrow there will be mere empty resounding howls for the increase of production, to amuse the industrial competitors of India, unless the saner elements of the I.N.T.U.C.

can come to terms and join forces with the Socialist Party.

We are beginning to hear the British coined phrase "Produce or Perish" in India now. But what a difference there is now between Britain and India. There they are fully awake to the hard, stark realities of the day, and in consequence labour, capitalist and management, have all come to terms, there being sacrifices all around, and production-boosting is well on the way despite terrific handicaps in the shape of procurement of raw-materials, lack of finance, shortage of food and essential commodities. The strain is appalling, but there is no sign of a crack anywhere. On the other hand, assurance is coming back to the British that "Britain can take it." The Communist with his insidious plans for the furtherance of Russian Imperialism—for it is imperialism, sure as fate, despite the change of label and alteration of the strategy—stands fully exposed today in Britain, and popular aversion has proved a far stronger weapon against it than the Law.

Here we have disruption, dislocation and bottlenecks all the way which the centre is merely trying to cover up under a screen of misty nebulous talk occasionally illuminated by bright dreamy visions of a glorious future. The Communist Party, with its satellite groups of unscrupulous A.-I. T. U. C. Labour-Leaders, is sowing broadcast the seeds of disruption amongst the uneducated masses of industrial and agricultural labour, lowering efficiency, increasing absenteeism and actively advocating sabotage. The Communist programme is that of the disruption of the State, the object being the induction of Russian extra-territorial influence in the ensuing chaos. And therefore there is no limit to the incitement, no consideration as to the economic possibility of the demands. For once the disruption is complete, they hope to seize power with the active aid of Russia. And then they, that is the approved ones, can deal with the disaffected and deluded labourer and labour-leader by "liquidation," with armoured cars and machine guns.

Turning to dislocation, there is that glaring business of controls and de-control. Controls, as brought in by the British Indian Government, dislocated the entire normal channel of trade, putting enormous sums of money in the hands of the favoured few, spreading bribery and corruption as a plague all over the markets and completely demoralising the administration. War-production, A.R.P. and the ancillary growths attendant on war, totally engulfed industry, throwing it completely out-of-gear with normal consumer demand. War-orders and war-organisations have gone, and controls are being fast removed, leaving in the train vast masses of disaffected and surplus labour and endless hindrances in the way of harnessing industry to peacetime production. Surplus labour can only be absorbed if production goes up, but the tools of the Communists are actively hampering production, the black-marketeer reaping rich harvests in the resulting shortages on the markets. Indeed the Communist and the A.-I. T. U. C.

are the best friends of the black-marketeers and the foreign exploiters in this respect. Further industry today, is in want of machine-tools, mechanical equipment and of prime movers. Trade and Commerce is therefore looking more and more towards imports of foreign manufacture for supplying the consumer-goods markets.

The Railways constitute the biggest bottleneck, with shortages of rolling stock, aggravated by slackness and the rampant corruption amongst the staff and the officials. Priorities are being utilized to bring in a rich harvest of illicit money all over the place. A rigorous anti-corruption drive, with a few exemplary punishments for some, is strongly called for if production and supply are at all to be accelerated.

Lastly, we come to the problem of the refugees, which constitute the biggest headache to the rudely disturbed Lotus-eaters of Delhi, caught without a plan. The problem is being tackled only now with some definite schemes in the West. But in the East, the problem is acute, thanks to the senseless propaganda in the daily press and the apologetic jeremiads of the so-called leaders of East Bengal, who are trying to cover up the heinousness of their desertion of the helpless minorities in that area by issuing statements, which unfortunately are based on a modicum of fact. The Centre has promised Five crores of rupees to the West Bengal Government as aid. We have no hesitation in declaring that most of this sum may yet be misappropriated by groups of those unscrupulous deserters—who ruined the cause of the Congress in East Bengal and are now trying to entrench themselves in West Bengal—and used for the furthering of their nefarious projects in party-politics, unless the Centre exercises the strictest control on it and puts Dr. B. C. Roy on the alert.

Turning to external affairs, the Kashmir incident is dragging on its painful course, the one bright spot being the gallant and heroic action of the soldiers of the Indian Union. In the international sphere, unless sober, alert men of proved integrity replace some diplomats at key-points, India will soon be in a cleft-stick despite all pious hopes of Pandit Nehru, while all the nations of the world are lining up on either side for the coming conflict.

The prospect is gloomy enough in all conscience, the more so as those we have placed in power, are all groping in the stygian darkness, each clutching his own particular Box-o'-Dreams, packed with visions, some of ephemeral Glory, others of Temporal Power, or even of more sordid, though more tangible rewards.

When are our leaders going to realize that they are not omniscient, and that there is need for a Brain-trust at the Centre? And when are they going to realize the need for a few efficient and selfless men, in place of the mass of axe-grinding Congress party-hacks and yes-men who are crowding out the Indian Union Parliament?

Linguistic Provinces

The agitation against the partition of Bengal demonstrated the strength of sentiment that is woven round the language that one learns on his mother's lap. Since then people speaking distinct languages in India have been striving to carve out separate provinces on the principle of linguistic kinship. Orissa under the leadership of the late Madhusudan Das was, we think, the pioneer in this line. Telugu-speaking people, Tamilians, Kanarese and Malayalam speaking people, all joined together under the Madras Presidency, have been agitating to set up separate households of their own. The Congress anticipated this development in 1920 when it reconstituted provinces under its own constitution based on linguistic differences, cutting across administrative arrangements. The Government under British control recognized this principle in the case of Orissa and Sind, while it left unsolved the problem of the Telugus, the Tamils, the Malayalis, the Kannadigas (Kanarese-speaking people), the Maharashtrians, the Gujaratis, the Hindi-speaking people and Bengalis dispersed under different administrative provinces. Why they did not tackle this problem while doing it in the case of Orissa and Sind, we cannot say. Whatever be the fact, all these different linguistic groups have been waiting for the Nehru Government to satisfy their long-cherished ambitions. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been questioned in the Central Legislature to define the Government's attitude in this matter.

As a leader of the Congress Panditjee was all for linguistic provinces. But he found certain difficulties in the way and has been counselling patience. But hopes deferred maketh the heart sick, and we would not be far wrong if we say that the patience of the people is being stretched to the breaking point. For instance, we can refer to the problem of the Karnatak Province which has been waiting solution since the beginning of this century, coincident with the Bengalee movement for the defence of their unity and integrity. Members representing the Kannadigas in the Constituent Assembly have been threatening non-cooperation with the Nehru Government if their desire for a separate province, separate from Madras and Bombay, be postponed any longer. They had Gandhiji's blessings. So had the Andhras. And they have been straining at the leash in exasperation—a fact the Nehru Government should not ignore any longer. We do not understand the reasons for the delay counselled on the aggrieved people. The Nehru Government has found time to iron out difficulties created by certain States. A Shaurashtra State has been formed, plans for a Matsya State in certain areas of northern India have been brought to success. Malwa and Vindya States are said to be in the offing.

Then why should the difficulties in the way of linguistic provinces be made so much of? Are the people concerned more cantankerous than those in

Cutch and Kathiawar? The princes, their conceits and ambitions, have had to yield to the demands of the new situation precipitated by the withdrawal of British paramountcy. Will the Andhras, the Tamilians, the Kannadigas, the Maharashtrians, the Bengalis, the Hindi-speaking people be less accommodating to the same situation? The Central Government are shying at these difficulties because they are afraid that the narrowness of vision that has been responsible for the abominations started by the Muslim League from which we have not escaped as yet may break out to poison human relations in India. There is enough reason to support this feeling of anxiety when we find a leader of eminence as Babu Rajendra Prasad indulging in arrant chauvinism in support of Bihar's determination to retain the non-Hindi-speaking areas of the province.

The *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta in its issue of December 23, 1947, quoted from a speech of his words that constitute incitement of the narrowest of linguistic ambitions. He is reported to have blamed at a meeting of the Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan the protagonists of Hindi in his province for their failure to propagate their language. The reported quotation stood thus :

It is because of the negligence and inability of the Bihar Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan that Singhbhum and Dhalbhum are being claimed by West Bengal for being non-Hindi-speaking areas. He stressed the need of propagating Hindi in Singhbhum and Dhalbhum and such other areas in order to claim that these tracts are absolutely Hindi-speaking areas.

An analysis of the words exposes a state of mind that is the seed-plot of all aggression in their various disguises. These cover campaigns for cultural aggression in the name of which we have seen two world wars devastating wide areas in three continents. It may be that the Nehru Government is conscious of the dangerous possibilities of such linguistic claims entertained by Congress leaders even; and they are, therefore, pleading for patience, for the proper atmosphere to develop in the country, for time for us to get over the spiritual and material devastation of the last twelve months and more. They know that in the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis many claims will be made that will be found hard to reconcile. Babu Rajendra Prasad's reported speech indicated one of these. They do not want to impose solutions that will leave rankling feelings behind. It was, therefore, that Gandhiji had thrown out a suggestion in the *Harijan* of November 30, 1947, that the provinces concerned should go to the Central Government of the Indian Union with agreed solutions regarding boundaries. The Congress High Command appears to have realized the wisdom of this suggestion by Gandhiji. A deputation on behalf of the Karnataka Unification Movement waited on the Congress Working Committee on January 24 last. In his reply to the Deputation's Memorandum, the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, advised as follows :

. . . As you are aware, settlement of boundary disputes is a complicated matter, and may arouse feelings at a time when we need the utmost cohesion in the country. It would, therefore, make the task of the Government and the Constituent Assembly easy if the people concerned came to Government with an agreed solution regarding their boundaries, . . .

This direction of the Congress President appears to suggest that the device of Boundary Commissions is no longer thought to be a fit instrument for the purpose of enquiry into and discussion over boundary lines. The Provincial Governments or better still the leaders of the provinces concerned are expected to iron out their claims and counter-claims, and present agreed decisions of their own on all matters of dispute. It is this spirit of accommodation that Gandhiji wanted to develop in us, to influence our conduct when he advised Shri T. Prakasam, the Andhra leader, not to depend on Governmental Commissions but to hammer out a solution of the Andhra-Tamilian controversies over the boundaries of the Andhra and Tamil provinces yet to be born. This advice holds good in the case of all the linguistic differences that threaten the cohesion of the Indian Union. Gandhiji's advice and its acceptance by the Congress has thrown a special responsibility on the Congress High Command to take the initiative in this matter. We should like to have an all-India drive to solve this question. Leaders of public opinion in the different provinces should be moving in the matter. Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa can immediately start negotiations. Orissa, Andhra, Tamil Nad, Karnataka, Kerala or "Penmalayam" can do the same, so should Bombay, Karnataka, Guzarat, Central Provinces and Berar. The Congress should take the lead and prod the Provincial Congress Committees to move. The Constituent Assembly should be presented with agreed solutions which it will register as the people's will on the solution of this ticklish matter round which have been built up many a hope of self-fulfilment on the part of millions of men and women. The Congress High Command should see that there is no delay. Unsatisfied desires can be used as explosives.

And last of all Congress Presidents, like Babu Rajendra Prasad, should practise, and not merely preach, *ahimsa*.

Boundary between Bengal and Bihar

The Bengal-Bihar boundary controversy has now reached a very delicate stage. The Bengali-speaking areas, which now form part of the province of Bihar, were transferred to it after the annulment of the Bengal Partition. On the Congress having given a solemn assurance that these areas would be returned to Bengal in due course, no further agitation on this count was launched. Since then, the Congress stands committed to the policy of redrawing the map of India on the basis of linguistic provinces. The Congress constitution itself has been modelled on that principle. Departures from this long-standing policy, however, have

become only too glaring when the demand for returning the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar to their rightful place has gained momentum. Bihar has resisted this legitimate demand, even to the point of violence, with the full support of her leader Dr. Rajendra Prasad. But the way in which attempts have been made in the draft constitution to sabotage Bengal's claim, has, to say the least, exceeded the bounds of constitutional propriety. Section 3 of the draft Constitution provides that the boundary of any state can be altered only when a representation in that behalf has been made to the President by a majority of the representatives of the territory in the Legislature of the State *from which the territory is to be separated or excluded*; or a resolution in that behalf has been passed by the Legislature of any State *whose boundaries or name will be affected* by the proposal to be contained in the Bill. One wonders whether Bihar or Assam will ever pass a resolution to the effect of ceding its territories to their rightful owners, namely Bengal, specially when one takes into account their tendency to thrive at her expense. It is really regrettable that the Congress has violated its own principles in order to satisfy the narrow and sectarian interests of some of her top-leaders, including the present President. The commitments of the Congress in this respect have been summarised in a memorandum prepared by the New Bengal Association and submitted to the high authorities of the Congress and the Central Government. They are given below which will speak for themselves. Meanwhile, we urge that this question ought to be raised in the coming April session of the A-I. C. C. and persuade that august body to direct its President to take immediate steps to honour Congress pledges.

Dr. S. K. Ganguly, President of the New Bengal Association, has issued the following statement:

We beg to invite the serious attention of all political leaders and of the nationalist Press to the extreme urgency of a satisfactory solution of the readjustment of boundaries between Bengal and Bihar. Though the principle of redistribution on a linguistic basis has been accepted, the delay in the practical application of the principle on the plea of the inopportune of the present moment is certain to create greater complications and make solution harder than ever. The delay is being utilised by the Bihar Government for whittling down the claims of Bengal to the Bengali-speaking area. Government machinery is already in full swing for manipulating official records and manufacturing land laws to the detriment of the claims of Bengal.

A new census taken in these circumstances will be an apt instrument in the hands of the Bihar authorities to buttress and fortify their own claims. Intimidation, cajolery, distribution of favours and patronage are being employed of set purpose to undermine the morale of the Bengalees even in Manbhum and to make them recant in their determination to join Bengal. Educational institutions are being forced to arrange for the compulsory teaching of Hindi even to Bengalees

students and their claims to higher recognition are being decided solely on the basis of their readiness to comply with this unreasonable demand.

Every month that is allowed to slip away before deciding this momentous question will be an additional nail driven into the coffin of the legitimate aspirations of the Bengali-majority areas. The Centre looks on unruffled and waits for the inevitable results of all these tactics to make themselves felt. The Bengal leaders and the B. P. C. C. are yet pursuing their behind-the-curtain policy and are afraid of coming out into the open with a bold declaration of their rights.

In support of Dr. Ganguly's statement we give the following extract from the memorandum circulated by the New Bengal Association :

(Copy of a letter from D. I. G., S. R. Ranchi, to S. P. Dhanbad, a facsimile of which was published in the press on 29th January, 1948)

CONFIDENTIAL.— Office of the D. I. G.,
S. P., Ranchi.
The 23rd October, 1947
Memo. No. A/XXV-i-47.

To

The S. P., Dhanbad.

Ref.—Your Memo. No. 1342 Con. dated 13-9-47.

Sub.—Names of important workers and sympathisers, who are agitating or trying to work up agitation, for inclusion of borders of Bihar in West Bengal.

You should obtain reports on the activities of the individuals mentioned in the Memo. under reference and if they are found agitating or actively supporting the agitation, a full report should be sent immediately.

It is necessary to keep running record of each individual for suitable action in future, if necessary.

Sd. R. R. PRASAD,

D.I.G., S.R.

New Bengal Association's Memorandum

New Bengal Association has circulated the following memorandum :

Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905 against the wishes of the people. It was followed by countrywide agitation of unprecedented intensity for about seven years. In order to prevent further deterioration of the situation, the Government of India made up its mind in 1911 to get the partition annulled.

Accordingly, the Government of India sent a Despatch on the 15th August, 1911, to the Secretary of State recommending annulment of Curzon's partition and the formation of three new provinces—(1) Bihar and Orissa, (2) Bengal, and (3) Assam, with their boundaries as they existed till the Radcliffe Award (August 1947). As the Despatch was prepared in secrecy, the Government of India added that "after the Delhi Durbar of 1911 they would discuss in detail with local and other authorities the best method of carrying out a modification of the Partition of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all."

The King-Emperor in the course of his Durbar Speech on the 12th December, 1911, also gave a solemn assurance of readjustment of boundaries.

Immediately after the announcement of this intention of readjustment of boundaries, the following resolution was passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session in December, 1911, urging the Government to transfer the areas of Bihar, where the people spoke Bengali, to Bengal.

Copy of a resolution moved in the Indian National Congress Session, 1911, by Dr. (Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru, seconded by Mr Parmeswar Lal and passed unanimously :

"That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty the King Emperor for the creation of a separate province of Bihar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council and prays that, in readjusting the provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

In January, 1912, several Bihar leaders accepting the soundness of the principle embodied in the Congress resolution, reiterated, as follows, that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts be placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar.

Copy of statement published in January, 1912, by a number of prominent leaders of Bihar.

"In accordance with the resolution of the last Congress, the sound principle would be that enunciated therein, that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. According to this arrangement, the portions of Purnea and Maldah to the east of the river Mahananda, which is the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to Bengal and the western portions of these two districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts in the Santhal Parganas where the prevailing language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the districts remain in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur the whole district of Manbhum and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum District are Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar."

Sj. Surendranath Banerjea, the great leader of India and Bengal, on the 23rd January, 1912, as Secretary of the Indian Association, made a representation to the Government pointing out that in the Despatch of the Government of India, dated the 25th August, 1911, the principle had been laid down that Bengali-speaking areas should form one province and the Hindi-speaking areas another separate province, and pressed for redistribution of Provinces on linguistic basis.

In reply to this representation, the Government of Bengal observed that the readjustment of boundaries consequent on the modification of the partition of Bengal was under consideration.

On the 7th April, 1912, the Bengal Provincial Con-

ference passed a resolution demanding amalgamation of the entire Bengali-speaking population under one administration in view of the declared policy of the Government of India as expressed in their Despatch of 25th August, 1911.

This demand was repeated year after year by the Bengal Provincial Conference.

All classes of people of Manbhum and Dhalbhum submitted their representations before Lord Hardinge, the then Governor-General of India, protesting against the separation of their lands from Bengal. Further in 1912, similar representations were sent from various villages with the same object. Subsequently Manbhum District Association was formed which carried on the agitation with the utmost vigour.

In 1917, in the Memorandum that was submitted by the Indian Association relating to future administration of India to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford, after specifying the definite promise given by the Government, it was stated that for the purpose of introducing responsible government, it would be an advantage to have to deal with homogeneous provinces. It was pointed out that Bengal was such a province but there were fringe areas in Bihar, Orissa and Assam, the population of which were Bengalees in language, race and tradition. So it was urged that by territorial redistribution such areas should be included in Bengal.

In 1928, the All-Parties Committee in their Report, known as the Nehru Report, recommended formation of provinces on linguistic basis. The Bengal Provincial Conference of that year reiterated the demand for reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar with Bengal on the basis of this recommendation.

The Report of the Simon Commission expressed the view that "the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality" and recommended as a "matter of urgent importance that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman which would investigate the main cases in which provincial adjustment seems called for." (Pages 25, 26 of Vol. II of the Report).

Redrawing of provincial boundaries on linguistic and cultural basis has all along been favoured by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He repeatedly expressed this view in his speeches and writings.

The election manifesto of the Congress, dated the 11th December, 1945, formulated the view in the following precise words: "The Congress has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius, it has stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework and it has stated that, for this purpose, such territorial area or provinces should be constituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis." This great manifesto is the direct corollary of the fundamental principle of self-determination.

On the 8th December, 1946, a Convention of the members of the Constituent Assembly was held in New Delhi at which a Resolution was adopted reaffirming the principle of creation of new provinces and redistribution of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis.

But of late there has been bitter attacks by some newspapers of Bihar against the reasonable demand made by the Bengalees of Dhalbhum and Manbhum.

It is not the heated controversy in newspapers or vituperations from platforms or mob violence that should decide the issue. It is the fundamental principle of self-determination that must decide it. If the people of a particular district or subdivision want to be within a particular province, there should not be any interference from outside. The procedure is as simple as possible. If the majority of the people in the region speak the Rarhi Bengali language of contiguous West Bengal districts, it must be included in West Bengal. If, on the other hand, the majority of the people in the region speak Hindi, it cannot be included in West Bengal. It must be decided in a "civilised way," as Pandit Nehru says.

Before the Radcliffe Award the Hindu and other non-Muslim population in undivided Bengal was 2,73,01,091. By Partition their number has been 1,58,93,573 and the area has been reduced from 77,442 sq. miles to 28,033 sq. miles. It is needless to say that West Bengal has been disastrously crippled by the Award, and it will not be possible for it to recover from the shock unless it gets back the Bengali-speaking tracts from Bihar. Hence it becomes imperative that these tracts must be reunited with West Bengal. The necessity for such redistribution has acquired a special urgency in view of the migration on a large scale of Hindus of Eastern Pakistan that has been going on ever since the publication of the Radcliffe Award.

Nearly a crore and a quarter of Hindus have got locked up in Pakistan; and several lakhs of them have already come over to West Bengal and many others are coming. It is but a niggardly bit of the original Bengal Province that has fallen to the share of West Bengal. The necessity of scope for expansion is therefore very considerable; and the area sought to be brought over from Bihar, about 8,000 square miles and with a comparatively sparse population (only about 450 to the square mile) would be a most suitable addition.

The entire land now covered by district Manbhum had been all along part of Bengal from ancient times and was never part of Bihar except from 1912 when the Britishers arbitrarily made it so for reasons best known to them.

Ain-i-Akbari records that Mandaran Sarkar (Garh Mandaran) appertained to Sube Bangla and that Panchkote, the most important and largest Raj within Manbhum was a mahal of Mandaran Sarkar. Jaffar Khan had divided Sube Bangla in several chaklas, in consequence of which Burdwan Chakla was formed

containing Mandaran Sarkar and three other Sarkars. In Firminger's edition of Fifth Report of Mr. Grant, Second Part, page 189, it is stated that "rich Zamindaries of Burdwan Raj, one-third of Bishnupore and Panchkote appertained to this chakla." In the Report at page 198 it is stated that Western Boundary of Panchkote was Chutianagpur and Ramgarh. Further in the Fifth Report, Part II, pages 248, 259 and 398, it is mentioned that Panchkote was for all time within Bengal, in Mandaran Sarkar of Burdwan Chakla. Rennell's map No. IX appended herewith conclusively proves that Panchkote was in Bengal and was not a part of Chutianagpur or of Ramgarh. Rennell's maps Nos. IX, VII, III and II, of which more will be said later, conclusively show that the whole of Manbhum district including Pachote Juriagarh and Dhanbad areas and Dhalbhum were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur and Ramgarh.

The administration of Panchkote towards the end of the 18th century was carried on first from Midnapore and subsequently from Birbhum. By Regulation 28 of 1805, the Jungle tracts of Bankura and Burdwan were formed into one Jungle Mahal Zilla under a separate Magistrate. Bankura was its head quarter. By the Regulation 13 of 1833, the Jungle Mahal Zilla was divided, and a new district was formed called Manbhum with its head quarters at Manbazar. This included not only the present Manbhum district and several estates of Bankura but Dhalbhum as well. Its area was 7,896 sq. miles which was too large for one district. So in 1845, Dhalbhum was separated from Manbhum Zilla and included in Singhbhum Zilla for the convenience of Magisterial administration.

According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, Mandaran Sarkar was the westernmost border territory of Sube Bengal. It further shows that Mandaran Sarkar consisted of several mahals out of which Dhalbhum was one. At first Raja Jagannath Dhal, Chief of Dhalbhum, refused to accept the suzerainty of the British, but subsequently his successor in 1777 agreed to pay fixed revenue of Rs. 4,267 on permanent settlement basis, and Dhalbhum Pargana remained part of Midnapore district till 1833. Rennell's map No. VII, dated 14.10.1779, shows Dhalbhum extending on both sides of the Subarnarekha as part of Midnapore. In 1833, the new district of Manbhum was formed out of the Jungle Mahal Zilla and Dhalbhum was made part of it. In 1845 for convenience of magisterial administration Dhalbhum Pargana was made part of Singhbhum, as stated above; but in revenue matters its administration continued to be linked up with that of Manbhum. It is well known that the people of Dhalbhum till today refuse to identify themselves with those of Singhbhum.

So in 1912 when Curzon's partition was annulled, Dhalbhum by a double process, first as part of Singhbhum and then of Chotanagpur, was made part of Bihar. This is how Dhalbhum was cut away from Bengal and grafted on Bihar.

According to Trevelyan's Hindu Law, Dayabhaga

is the prevailing law in Manbhum. The prevailing law in Bihar is the Mitakshara. Panchkote Raj family is governed by Dayabhaga School of Hindu law.

In Dhalbhum and Manbhum, Durga and Kali Pujas are universally performed. Besides these Pujas, Manasa Puja, Jitasasti and Pous Parban are performed just in the way they are done in the neighbouring districts of Midnapore and Bankura. In the months of Baisakh and Jaistha, Harinam Sankirtan is sung in all villages as in Bengal villages. The Chhat and Fagua festivals are confined among the few Biharis in the towns. The Bengalee trait runs through the entire body of Hindus, Musalmans, Brahmins, Christians, Bhumijs, Kurmis, Santals, Bauris, in diet, dress, language, words, ornaments, conception of purity and impurity. The crowd in the market or gathering of men on any occasion will also strike as a Bengali assemblage.

A look at the map will convince any one that Dhalbhum is and should be part of Midnapore district or Manbhum district as it was in past times. It is the foundation and growth of the industrial town of Jamshedpur that have made the pargana a covetable object to Bihar. Without the industrial town there would have been no attraction for Bihar to claim this pargana inhabited by people speaking Bengali, Oriya, Santali, Ho, etc., and separated by a distance of 200 miles from Patna across the vast territory of mountainous and jungly Chutia Nagpur. Dhalbhum, Jamshedpur and Seraikella are on the Railway main line from Calcutta to Bombay and can be reached within six hours from Calcutta, but a railway journey from any place in Bihar proper to the above-mentioned places will take not less than 18 hours.

The levels of lands of the whole of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are the most important geographical features for ascertaining whether they should remain with Bihar or be made over to Bengal. Their levels are almost the same as those of Bankura and Midnapore. The level of lands intervening between them and Bihar proper ranges between 1,610 to 3,281 feet above sea level. (See Oxford map).

From the geographical position and physical feature of Dhalbhum as also of Manbhum it is crystal clear that they are not parts of Chutia Nagpur. Under no circumstances these far-flung tracts should be made part of Bihar ignoring the fact that they had been all along parts of Midnapore and Birbhum. The levels of the country are the same and they are inhabited by the same class of people with the same dialect and traditions.

[It is a common error to take Chutia Nagpur as identical with Chhoto Nagpur. Chhoto Nagpur (the Division) was created for the first time in 1854, and includes Chutia Nagpur which meant only the Ranchi Maharaja's Zemindari, and also Singhbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau.]

J. Rennell's maps prepared in 1779 not only conclusively point out that the whole of Manbhum district and Dhalbhum subdivision were part of Bengal but

were never in Chutianagpur, not to mention Bihar. Map No. VII shows that Dolboom, Burraboom, Manboom, Patcoom, Pachete, Jauldoe, Juriagar and Niagar were within Bengal. Map No. IX draws the boundary between Bihar and Bengal. It shows that Dhalbhum, whole of Manbhum with Jhariagarh, Jamtara, Rajmahal were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur, Ramgarh or Bahar. Map No. II shows Juriagarh, Doomka and Jamtara within Birbhum. Map No. III which is of South Bahar completely excludes Dhanbad area, Jhariagarh, etc., showing Goomah and Doomehans beyond the boundary line. Present Dhanbad is over 50 miles south-east of Goomah and Doomehanch. Map No. VII further shows Dolboom as part of Midnapur; and the initial B of Birbhum in the fork between Barakar and Damodar rivers leaves no room for doubt that Birbhum jurisdiction included the whole of present day Dhanbad subdivision, right up to Niagarh, Rameurrah and the Jamunia stream. Present day maps show Ramkunda, Nowagarh, also Topchanchi close to mile 188 on the Grand Trunk Road, and Madhuban and Pareshnath Hill near mile 195 on the same road.

CENSUS FIGURES

	Area in sq. miles	Total population	Bengalees	Santals (all speak Bengalee as subsidiary language)	People speaking Hindi
Census 1941	4,147	20,32,146	13,57,284 67.3%	2,67,619 13%	3,57,075 17.5%
Census 1931	4,147	18,10,890	12,22,689 67.5%	2,42,991 13.4%	3,21,690 17.8%

The figures show that in the whole district the Bengalees were about 5 times as many as Hindi-speakers in the times of Census for 1941 and 1931. This fact alone is sufficient for decision that the district should no longer be retained in Bihar but must be restored to Bengal as it was before 1912. Furthermore as almost all the Santals in the district speak Bengali, the percentage of Bengali-speaking population is 80 per cent of the total population. So any attempt to retain the district or any part of it in Bihar will be a contravention of the principle of self-determination.

The case of Dhanbad subdivision must be dealt with separately anticipating possible objection. 1931 Census figures for Sadar and Dhanbad subdivisions are as follows :

	Total population	Bengalees	Santals	Hindusthani
Sadar Sub-division	12,89,798	10,46,653	1,68,714	62,269
Dhanbad Sub-division	5,21,092	1,76,036	73,377	2,59,421
	18,10,890	12,22,689	2,42,091	3,21,690

Figures most emphatically disclose that retention of Sadar subdivision of Purulia in Bihar is an outrage on the principle of self-determination. Here 10 lakhs of Bengalees want to live under West Bengal Government against 62 thousand of Hindi-speaking people who claim to remain under Bihar Government.

The case of Dhanbad stands on a different footing. The percentage of Bengalees, Santals and Hindi speakers are 31, 14 and 50 respectively. Of the entire Hindu-sthani population in Dhanbad subdivision, by far the majority are confined in the mining area of Jharia and Dhanbad as labourers and as such they form what is called the floating population. They cannot be regarded as inhabitants of the soil, and their number should not be allowed to modify the decision about the redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis. Otherwise in future there will not be any permanency in the boundaries of the province. On similar consideration the labour population in the tea gardens of Sylhet, being a floating population, was not allowed to vote in the referendum taken to decide whether Sylhet should be a part of Pakistan. The Hindi-speaking labourers in mines should similarly be excluded. Even without excluding this floating population, Bengalees and Bengali-speaking Santals together outnumber the Hindi-speaking population of Dhanbad subdivision. So there is no reason why the whole of the district including Dhanbad subdivision should not be transferred to Bengal.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST BENGALI

It is regrettable that from 1912 when Bihar was separated from Bengal persistent attempts were made to make the Sub-division of Dhanbad a predominantly Hindi-speaking area. In 1914, after an unsuccessful attempt led by Mr. Luby, the Additional Deputy Commissioner, to oust Bengali altogether from the Courts in Dhanbad, Hindi was prescribed as an alternative court language.

A notification was issued from Education Department to the effect that, for the time being, only Mathematics, History, Geography, etc., might be taught through the medium of Bengali but as soon as the students would acquire sufficient knowledge in Hindi the medium of teaching of all subjects should be Hindi. It was notified that from 1916 all subjects should be taught in Hindi.

Orders were issued in Government letter No. 5109 R.S., dated 7.8.1918 directing that the Records of Rights in the Settlement proceedings about to commence would be written in Hindi exclusively, and not in Bengalee. This was followed at once by memorials of protests from persons holding permanent interest in the land, both landlords and ryats, who had all their documents in Bengali and were all practically ignorant of Hindi. In view of this Mr. Hoernle, the Additional Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad, was of the view that the Record of Rights in the whole of the subdivision ought to be in Bengali. So the Government had to reconsider the matter. After

long delay, revised orders were grudgingly passed in Government letter No. 309 J.T.C., 9, dated 8.6.1921 that, for the eastern thanas Nirsha and Tundi, the records were to be prepared in Bengali, but that the order of 1918 relating to record and petitions in Hindi must hold good for Block E, consisting of thanas Gobindapur, Jharia and Topchanchi. But practically all documents and papers produced by landlords and tenants even for Block E were found to be in Bengali, and the Settlement Officer Mr. Gokhale, I.C.S., had to observe in his final Report that "there was much difficulty in the landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record," and that parties, who were prevented from presenting before the Settlement staff petitions in Bengali, started writing petitions in English but not in Hindi. Mr. Gokhale had nothing better to suggest for meeting this anomalous situation than that "every effort should be made to popularise the study of Hindi in all the vernacular schools in the area, so that in a short time there will be at least one man in each village who can read the record and thus enable the villagers to take advantage of it." After a lapse of over 20 years since then, it is now possible to get in most villages in the 3 western thanas "at least one man" who can read and explain the record; but even today the great majority of petitions filed in Courts and of documents presented for registration in the Registration offices continue to be written in Bengali and not in Hindi.

In Dhalbhum, Hindi was prescribed in 1931 as alternative Court language and Hindi primary schools were opened. Similar action was taken in the Bengalee-speaking tracts of the Santal Parganas, and the first effect was a heavy drop in the number of students in primary schools. The following observation in this connection by Mr. Hoernle, Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas in 1930 (who had been Mr. Luby's successor as Additional Deputy Commissioner, Dhanbad in 1921), is of interest: "The policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to have been based on Dhanbad where Mr. Luby who was Subdivisional Officer in 1914 instituted a vigorous campaign against Bengalees."

In 1921, Mr. Hoernle, Additional Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas, had observed: "In 1914, Mr. Luby, S.D.O. of Dhanbad, had started there a strong campaign against the Bengali language. The local language of Dhanbad was Khotta Bangala which is a mixture with Hindi. In the West and North the influence of Hindi is greater whereas in the East and North-East and South-East influence of Bengali is greater. Everywhere the influence of Bengali language is felt more than any other. In 1921, at the time of Census I could not secure non-Bengalee enumerators. In my opinion the campaign against Bengali language in Dhanbad was ill-conceived."

In 1937, a planned attempt to replace Bengali by Hindi was renewed. But in spite of repeated efforts against it the influence of the Bengali language is to

be found everywhere. Primary teaching has to be carried on through the medium of Bengali.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad in his recent address before the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan expressed his annoyance to the Sammelan for "not propagating Hindi in Singhbhum and Dhalbhum area which has resulted in West Bengal's claiming those areas." So it is an admission that attempt to change language of the Bengali-speaking area in Bihar failed.

Population of Dhalbhum on linguistic basis according to Census of 1931:

Dhalbhum Subdivision including Jamshedpur City
(Total population 3,94,595)

Mother Tongue—

Bengali, 1,41,105; Hindi, 49,621; Oriya, 44,640; Santali, 97,119; Bhumij, 22,828; and Ho, 9,467.

Jamshedpur City only (total population 83,738)

Mother Tongue—

Bengali, 17,768; Hindi, 36,782; Oriya, 8,791; Santali, 564; Bhumij, 307; and Ho, 2,616.

The figures show that the entire population of the Subdivision is 3,94,595. Out of it the Bengalees are 1,41,105. They far exceed Hindi speakers (49,624). Then again, of the Santals and Bhumijes, over 57,000 speak Bengali as a subsidiary language, less than 7000 speak Oriya and not even 100 of them speak Hindi. So Santals and Bhumijes have proceeded a long way with the Bengalees to imbibed their way of speech and living.

In Jamshedpur town out of the total population of 83,738 (Census 1931) Bengalees number 17,768; Oriyas, 8,791 and Hindi-speakers 36,782. The above excess of numbers of Hindi-speakers over Bengalees should not be the deciding factor to retain Dhalbhum or any part of it in Bihar. Jamshedpur is only an isolated town in which the Hindi-speakers number more than the Bengalees but do not outnumber the Bengalees, Oriyas and tribals put together. The town is surrounded on all sides by Bengali majority lands. On the east is Midnapore. On the north are districts of Midnapore and Manbhum. On the West is Saraikela where Bengali-speakers predominate as will be evident from the figures given below. On the south is Mayurbhanj State where there is no Hindi-speaking people. Dhalbhum is not touched on any side by Hindi area.

Another factor should not be lost sight of. In Jamshedpur, the great majority, not only of Hindi-speakers but of Bengali-speakers and Oriya-speakers as well, are immigrants. Among the very small percentage of those that are building houses and settling down, the Bengalees predominate. Further, the labour population concentrated in the town of Jamshedpur is what is called floating population and should not be considered for determination of the point, as has been already discussed in connection with the Dhanbad colliery area.

So under no circumstances can any part of Dhalbhum be retained in Bihar. The entire sub-division must be transferred to Bengal.

Saraikela is bounded on its entire North by lands of Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum which extends further towards the west to cover a portion of northern boundary of State of Kharsawan also. On its west are the State of Kharawan and district Singhbhum. On its southern boundary, Mayurbhanj State touches it for a short distance and on the rest of the southern boundary and on the eastern boundary is the sub-division of Dhalbhum. So from its geographical position it should be made part of Dhalbhum and consequently it should go to Bengal.

The population of Saraikela consists of Bengalees 43,117 (30 per cent), Oriyas 36,363 (25 per cent), Hindustanis 4,911 (3 per cent), Tribals 58,734 (41 per cent). Of the tribals, the great majority use Bengali as their subsidiary language, and a small number use Oriya.

The observation of Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India is relevant in this connection (more exhaustive extract quoted later on). "Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking District, and the same language is spoken in that part of Singhbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is south of Manbhum. The State of Saraikela consists of two portions an Eastern and a Western. In the Eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of Singhbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the Western portion of the State of Saraikela the main language is Oriya."

From the above there cannot be any other conclusion but that Eastern Saraikela must be included in West Bengal along with Dhalbhum and not with Orissa, must less with Bihar which has absolutely no claim.

Further, the extract "Bengali is the language of that portion of the Santal Parganas which adjoins Hazaribagh" . . . is important. In the portion of the Santal Parganas which touches Hazaribagh lie Mihijam, Jamtara, Madhupur and Deoghar. It is common knowledge that the inhabitants of these places speak Bengali and not Hindi. So these areas of the Santal Parganas, although they are situated on the western fringe of the district, should also be amalgamated with Bengal along with the contiguous eastern areas.

Santal Parganas is contiguous to the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Maldah of West Bengal. The level of the lands of the above subdivisions is almost the same as that of the contiguous districts of West Bengal. In the beginning of British rule a part of Santal Parganas was within Bhagalpur and the remainder in Birbhum. By Act 7 of 1856 the district was formed with lands taken out of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts. Rajmahal area was within Suba Bangla for four centuries and Rajmahal was its capital. The western natural boundary of West Bengal is evidently the Rajmahal hills and the ranges extending southward. From the list of Zemindaris it can be seen that from the time of Murshid Kuli Khan up to the time of Permanent Settlement the subdivisions of Raj-

mahal, Pakur, Jamtara and considerable portions of Dumka were within Bengal.

In 1912, the district was included in the separated Province of Bihar. In the Census Report of 1931, Mr. Lacey wrote that Bengali language had got a set-back in Santal Parganas, Singhbhum and States. He further remarked that "although there was keen competition between Hindi and Bengali languages in Santal Parganas and although the Hindi-speaking population is four times as many as Bengali-speaking people, still Bengali is the current language among the aborigines of the district."

In the two subdivisions of Pakur and Jamtara, the Records-of-Rights were prepared in Bengali. All the documents in these two subdivisions are written in Bengali. If the children, who speak in Bengali in their houses, be taught in schools in Hindi, the result will only be the disadvantage of an artificial imposition.

The Census Commissioner's observation that in Santal Parganas the number of Hindi-speakers is four times that of Bengali-speakers, requires a brief comment. This proportion is applicable with respect to the district as a whole including Godda and Deoghar subdivisions and western portions of Rajmahal and Dumka; but it is not correct for the Bengali-speaking tracts which consist of the eastern side of sub-divisions Dumka and Rajmahal and entire Jamtara and Pakur, and for which the approximate figures may be stated as: Bengalees 217,000, Hindi-speakers 136,000. Apart from these figures the most important fact remains that the majority of the tribal population of the district spoke and still speak Bengali as a subsidiary language and not Hindi. Thus Bengali is the common language not only in Jamtara and Pakur subdivisions but also in Rajmahal and Dumka which is borne out by the following figures. Rajmahal: Bengalees 42,937 plus Santals, 130,644, against Hindi-speakers 1,22,601. Dumka: Bengalees, 46,077 plus Santals, 2,26,268, against Hindi-speakers 1,97,431. So the claim for transfer of only the eastern portions of Dumka and Rajmahal along with the whole of Jamtara and Pakur would be found to be irresistible.

The old judicial documents relating to Deoghar show that they used to be written in pure Bengali, with Bengali year and month specified. Such documents used to be filed in the court of the Judge at Birbhum. One such is to be found in the *Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan*, edited by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, head of the Imperial Records Department, New Delhi.

The spoken language in the eastern portion of Purnea District is called Kishengunjia or Sripuria dialect. According to Sir George Grierson this dialect is allied and similar to the spoken language of North Bengal districts of Malda and Dinajpur. According to his estimate the number of Sripuria-speakers was more than six lakhs in his time. He observed that this dialect was prevalent in the whole of Kishengunge subdivision as well as in the eastern part of Sadar subdivision. The

three succeeding censuses record the following figures with respect to the whole district of Purnea :

	1911	1921	1931
Hindi	12,02,568	18,74,971	19,80,123
Bengali	7,49,018	1,02,005	1,47,299

It is remarkable that in the first census after the creation of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province the number of Bengali-speakers decreased by six lakhs and that of Hindi-speakers swelled by that number in Purnea District. In the Census of 1911 the number of people with Bengali as mother tongue was 97 per cent of the total population in Kissengunge Subdivision.

In the Kishengunge subdivision, castes such as Satgope, Kaibarta, Koch, Rajbanshi, Namasudra, Bauri and Harhi exist, just as in the villages of Bengal and unlike Bihar.

So the claim to have the Bengali-speaking tracts of the eastern portion of Purnea district included in West Bengal is by no means artificial.

It is urged that in view of the self-evident and irrefutable claim of Bengal over the areas specified in the memorandum, the authorities should immediately investigate the whole question and order their transfer to Bengal, on the basis of the facts and figures supplied herein. The enquiry should not be a protracted process, as the figures supplied can be easily verified. Delay in a satisfactory settlement would only embitter feelings and add to the already existing tension. It will further postpone the beginning of constructive work and ameliorative projects which are absolutely necessary if the newly created provinces are to attain economic stability and cultural progress.

APPENDIX II

Part 1.

Figures from the 1931 Census Tables showing Languages spoken in different Sub-divisions of Districts on the eastern fringe of Bihar Province.

Name of Subdivision or other area.	Area in sq. miles.	Total population.	Number of persons with mother tongue						Oran and Malto
			Bengali	Hindi	Oriya	Santhali	Bhumij	Ho	
Dhalbhum Sub-division including Jamshedpur	1,160	3,94,595	1,41,105	49,624	44,640	97,119	22,828	9,467	
Jamshedpur City		83,738	17,768	36,722	8,791	564	307	2,616	
Sadar Sub-division of Manbhum	3,308	12,89,798	10,46,653	62,269		1,68,714	2,907		
Dhanbad Sub-division of Manbhum	787	5,21,092	1,76,036	2,59,421		73,377			
Jamtara Sub-division of Santal Parganas	693	2,43,858	73,091	70,362		99,117			
Dumka Subdivision of Santal Parganas	1,463	4,66,157	46,077	1,79,434		2,26,268			7,012
Pakur Sub-division of Santal Parganas	700	2,75,574	68,792	44,455		1,45,626			14,260
Rajmahal Sub-division of Santal Parganas	801	3,31,136	42,937	1,22,601		1,30,644			27,871
Sadar Sub-division of Purnea	2,575	11,11,799	86,691	9,74,379		34,904			12,671
Kissengunge Sub-division of Purnea	1,346	5,60,577	59,398	4,94,120		4,683			1,334

Part 2.

Approximate figures for such portions only of the Sub-divisions of S. Parganas and of Purnea as are claimed for inclusion in Bengal.

Name of Subdivision or other area.	Area in sq. miles.	Total population.	Number of persons with mother tongue						Ho	Oran and others
			Bengali	Hindi	Oriya	Santhal	Bhumij			
Whole of Jamtara Sub-division	693	2,43,858	73,091	70,362		99,117				1,288
Half of Dumka Sub-division	730	2,33,000	42,000	28,000		1,60,000				3,000
Whole of Pakur	700	2,75,574	68,792	44,455		1,45,626				16,701
Portion of Rajmahal	370	1,66,000	34,000	22,000		1,00,000				10,000
In Purnea District portion east of Mahananda-Kalindri River and east of Manihari-Katihar road.	800	3,54,000	1,35,000	1,74,000*		33,000				12,000

Most of these speak in the Siripuria *boli* which Dr. Grierson classes as a dialect of Bengali.

The Problem of the Sikhs

The Pakistanis have not learnt anything from that part of the Indian people's history dealing with the fall of the Moghul power in the Punjab and the rise of the Sikh power in its place. Today by ousting the Sikhs from the West Punjab amid scenes of murder, pillage and outrage on women's honour, they have made the Khalsa determined and implacable enemies of Muslims and everything associated with them. This is a tragedy, a decline in human morality, the consequences of which will dog the footsteps of many generations. No ruler of men in the area which was known as India till August 14, 1948, can ignore its lessons except at peril to the abiding interests of millions of men, women and children. Sardar Ajit Singh, ex-minister in the N.-W. Frontier Province, writing to the "Guru Gobind Singh" number of the *Liberator*, organ of the Khalsa published from New Delhi, made this phase of the problem clear when he said: "Pakistan has solved one of the problems of the Sikhs. By ousting *en masse*, it has given them the much-needed solidarity in the East Punjab." Another writer in the same issue of this weekly said: "These Sikh States are to serve as the arsenal of Sikh political power, and the meeting ground of Sikh culture which is imperilled . . ." These two statements indicate the lines on which the leadership of the Khalsa shall be tempted to move the community during the crisis years lying just ahead of us. The Sikhs have many a score to settle with the Pakistanis, one of these is the loss of the smiling lands their labour had transformed from the aridity of the Punjab, the "canal colonies" that have been a standing compliment to their love of God's earthly gift. Another score is constituted by the Nanakana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak, the Kartarpur Sahib and other historic *Gurudwaras* situated in the West Punjab. A Sikh jurist has suggested that these *Gurudwaras* should be given an international status on the analogy of Rome, the Eternal City of Catholic Christians. In the present atmosphere, it may appear premature to bring about such a wise act of healing of wounds. A spirit of give and take will be required. The Dargah Sahib of Ajmer will also deserve such a dispensation.

Leaving for the present the Sikh-Pakistan relations, those who are charged with moulding the destiny of the Indian Union would require the highest order of sympathetic and imaginative statesmanship to tackle rightly the problem of a people who have demonstrated their capacity in the arts of war and peace in the wide spaces of the world. Their sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of India's unity and integrity may appear to have gone in vain. But their proud record in this behalf will be a memory to be cherished by all, and as well also by them if they are to contribute their share to the building up of the new order in India. In the East Punjab they have all the elements of a great opportunity to revive their "canal colonies." They can make

a success of it if they can integrate all their hopes and aspirations with those that move other sections of the community in general. If we understand their views they appear to be insisting that the Punjabi dialect in the *Gurmukhi* script should be the language of the State in the East Punjab. This demand belongs to the battle of languages and scripts that threatens coherent action both in India and in Pakistan. Apart from this, we cannot conceive of any problem that is specially Sikh. The uprooting of populations in the West Punjab has caused suffering and loss to others also. And their relief and recompense cannot be compartmentalized into Hindu and Sikh, into Jat and Rajput, into urban and rural.

The problems raised by this violent exchange of population would require comprehensive treatment. This does not mean that individuals and groups will be lumped together into a single scheme under a cast-iron uniformity. But it does mean that the reconstructive programmes should avoid the emphasis on separatism that has been the bane of India's social polity. The Punjab disaster has affected many million lives; their re-building is a great opportunity for the evolution of a new social order in which the crudities of the past, the credal and caste differences that have poisoned human relations in India, should not have any toleration. Our recent sufferings have not paid any respect to distinctions of status. All, rich and poor, men and women, have been victims of a common disaster, of a disruption of traditions. This should teach us the wisdom of making a common approach to the solution of a common problem. In this view of the matter, we do not feel at all happy with the statements of Master Tara Singh, framed in words that are reminiscent of those uttered by Pakistanis.

In his most recent statement he went all out against the Nehru Government as "a party which wants to keep all other elements in India's national life out of power." The charge is so palpably absurd that Masterji under cross-examination will fail to explain the presence of Sardar Baldev Singh, of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji, of Shri Sannukham Chetty, of Dr. Ambedkar, of Dr. John Mathai, and of Mr. Cooverji Bhaba in the Nehru Cabinet; none of them belonged to the Congress organization. He appears to be sore that the Sikhs are not being given a place, "prior to any others," in the administration of the East Punjab Province; he is sore with the joint electorate device of Parliamentary rule; he demanded "50 per cent representation" in the East Punjab. These are familiar words in our ears, made familiar by Muslim League disruptionists. It is not by making exclusive demands like these that Masterji will be able to help strengthen "the resisting power of our country." He wants "an effective share of power" in East Punjab. We do not know who stands in the way. The vigour and vitality that Sikhs represent can win through any obstacle that may appear. The glass-house security that Masterji hankers after is the way of decadence. And we have no

doubt that the Sikhs will realize it soon that he has been giving a wrong lead to the Panth.

Bengal's Share of Income-Tax

Under the terms of the Niemeyer Award, which was in force till the transfer of power, the provincial pool of income-tax receipts, amounting in recent years to about Rs. 30 crores, used to be divided among provinces in a fixed ratio, which for Bengal, was 20 per cent. Before partition, Bengal's share used to be about Rs. 6 crores. But strangely enough Bengal's share after partition has been reduced to 12 per cent only. After partition, only about a sum of Rs. 38 lakhs, which used to be collected in the territories now in East Bengal, has been lost. This loss represents roughly about one-eightieth of Bengal's total collection. This may be understood when it is remembered that the largest collection of income-tax is made in the trade and industrial centres of the province which comprise mainly Calcutta and some parts of West Bengal.

After partition, the Niemeyer ratios have been revised and the West Bengal has been the only sufferer in this revision. The ratios are shown below :

Province	Percentage of the provincial pool under Niemeyer Award	Percentage now proposed
Madras	15	18
Bombay	20	21
Bengal	20	12 (West Bengal)
U. P.	15	19
Punjab	8	5 (East Punjab)
Bihar	10	13
C. P. & Berar	5	6
Assam	2	3
N.-W. F. P.	1	—
Orissa	2	3
Sind	2	—
	100	100

It is therefore clear that every province is going to benefit at the expense of Bengal just as had been the case at the time of the much hated Meston Award. It seems the British policy of victimisation of Bengal is going to be kept up. The following table will illustrate the monstrosity of the iniquitous award that has been made in the case of West Bengal :

Province	Percentage of collection in 1935-36	Percentage of collection in 1944-45
Madras	11.67	10.5
Bombay	31.23 (including Sind)	36.8
Bengal	33.07	33.1
U. P.	9.52	7.2
Punjab	6.49	4.5
Bihar	4.29 (including Orissa)	2.5
C. P. & Berar	1.89	2.2
Assam	1.06	.6
N.-W. F. P.	.78	.8
Orissa	..	.3
Sind	..	1.5
	100	100

So, while West Bengal's collections have gone down barely by 1 per cent, her share has been reduced by 8 per cent and while the collections in Madras, U.P., Bihar and Assam have considerably fallen off, they have come in for larger shares of the tax at the expense of Bengal. On these facts the conclusion is irresistible that West Bengal's share must not be anything less than what is given to Bombay. The present award is pernicious and unjust in the extreme.

Hyderabad

As things are at present, the Nizam's State seems determined to give itself no rest, and to keep the Dominion of India always on the watch. The basic facts of the situation in this State in the Deccan are: (1) the ruling house was founded by a traitor governor of the Moghul Empire; (ii) this house has been regarded by the Muslims of India as, after the decline of the Courts at Delhi and Lucknow, the upholder of Islamic traditions; (iii) these traditions are not shared by the vast majority of the State's people; (iv) this has given rise to an unspoken conflict between the State authorities and more than 85 per cent of the people; (v) faced by such a situation the State authorities have had to fall back on the support of Muslims native to the soil as also those imported from upper India and Hardamut of Arabia which had provided an Arab nobility since the foundation of the State. The alien nature of the State is demonstrated by the way in which Urdu has been imposed as a State language, as the language of culture, much against the traditions and inclinations of the majority population. The basic facts indicated above explain the etiology of the unrest that has been shaking the roots of the State. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Minister in charge of States Affairs, has been trying to conquer these intractable factors by stooping to the Nizam's sentiments and prepossessions. The Stand-still Agreement between the Indian Union and the Nizam's State has been an attempt in this line of Statecraft. It has not succeeded, as the statement on behalf of the States Ministry made on the 15th instant in the Central Legislature went to show. In the absence of Sardar Patel, Minister of Works Gadgil deputized for him. The following extracts from his studiously courteous statement high-light the tense situation in the State: :

"... the position in Hyderabad was complicated by factors of which the Government of India could not but take cognisance. His Exalted Highness the Nizam had his internal difficulties with which we thought that lapse of time might enable him to deal satisfactorily . . .

"... Breaches of the Agreement have undoubtedly occurred . . . These breaches have enhanced distrust and suspicion which the internal situation in the State has undoubtedly engendered not only in the neighbouring Provinces but all over India. . . .

"First, there is the question of the border incidents. This is a most important issue because not only the peace and tranquillity of the whole

of the southern, central and Western India hang on it, but also because these are symptomatic of the poisoned atmosphere that prevails, and an evidence of the extent to which subversive activities inside the State are going on without apparently any check from the forces of law and order. . . .

"We are sorely disappointed, therefore, to find that not only border incidents have not been stopped, but they have continued to occur with even greater frequency and have lately assumed more formidable proportions. . . .

" . . . We feel that it is time that the Hyderabad Government turned its attention very seriously to the internal ills which are not only undermining clandestinely as well as openly the established authority but is also spreading terror and fear in the local population. I refer, in particular, to the activities of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimin (Union of Muslims organization) and its volunteer organization known as the *Rassakars*. . . . The resultant oppression of the poor and defenceless Hindu population in the State is threatening the peace and tranquillity of the whole of the South.

" . . . the permanent remedy for causes of friction is the attainment of responsible government by the people of Hyderabad, and the determination of the relationship between the Hyderabad State and the Indian Dominion in accordance with popular wishes."

These extracts expose the seeds of conflict that threatens, in the language of this statement, the peace of the country as a whole. For, let there be no doubt that Kasim Razvi, leader of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimin, is a blood brother of the Quaid-e-Azam of the All-India Muslim League, and he would spare no effort to poison relations in the Deccan in his gambler's throw to establish "Pakistan"—"Osmanistan"—in the heart of the Peninsula. The States Ministry's policy of softness will simply encourage Kasim Razvi and his bravoes.

Military Training for Students

The announcement made on the 13th instant by the Defence Minister, Sardar Baldev Singh, in the Legislature of the Indian Union that the Nehru Government had decided to give effect to the recommendations of the National Cadet Corps Committee does not go a very great way in fulfilling expectations of a marked change after the removal of British strangle-hold from over the life of the country. The Cadet Corps Committee's recommendations, so far as we, lay men, understand these, are concerned with the training of leaders of Free India's fighting forces. This may be necessary work, the spade work that is essential. But, we stand by twin standards of judgment on things military as indicated in our January number: "What they (the general public) are anxious about is that the mass enthusiasm created by freedom from British control should be harnessed to the service of the State, and that the insult implied in the division between 'martial' and 'non-martial' races in India should be effaced." Tested on these, Sardar Baldev Singh's announcement does not go far to satisfy us. Under this scheme his Senior Division will be recruited from Universities and Colleges

with a strength of 32,540; his Junior Division, recruited from Boys' schools, will have a strength of 1,35,000.

The report of Sardar Baldev Singh's speech that has appeared in the Press does not give us any idea of the dimensions of the defence problem which the Cadet Corps are expected to help tackle. Unless the Defence Department of the Indian Union educates public opinion on this subject, the go-happy disposition of the people cannot be remodelled to understand the responsibilities of a free State, encompassed by potential enemies, far and near. This consciousness is the A. B. C. of all defence organization, the realization by the public of this postulate of freedom, of a free State life, is the seed-plot on which can be reared the crop of leaders and men who will be prepared to stake their all for their country's honour, for the defence of their hearth and home, for the protection of the temples of their gods. For one hundred and ninety years of British rule this feeling and consciousness had been frowned upon; the "martial" races of the country had been content to hire themselves to the service of the alien state, and the "non-martial" races had held aloof or been kept aloof from work in the defence services of the country. This had been the general picture of mercenarism and indifference—at best resentment for discrimination. Sardar Baldev Singh's speech does not indicate any change that would create enthusiasm and passionate devotion. And we are not at all sure that the "non-martial" races of British manufacture will have a fair deal under the new dispensation. The idea behind the following words is not encouraging: "As the Senior Division is to be organized on an all-India basis, there should be no Provincial quotas. The Defence Department should be responsible for the allotments from the ceiling (*sic*)."

This idea if given shape to may continue the British policy of discrimination between Province and Province, between class and class. To amplify the argument: The Radcliffe Award has formed two frontiers, west and east of India, running along "Pakistani" areas. The west is well provided against through the military training received at British hands; people in East Punjab have been trained body and mind to meet their responsibilities as guardians of the frontiers. The West Bengal that must bear the brunt of the defence of the Indian Union's eastern marches, had during the British regime vegetated as a "non martial" area, as her people taken as a whole have had no military training. Under the Baldev Singh dispensation, people in West Bengal may not have the required opportunity to make up for the neglect of one hundred and ninety years. All-India considerations and the immediate needs of eastern defence may push West Bengal to the cold neglect of the past. This is a prospect to which we cannot reconcile ourselves.

Afghanistan

The British Government had tried to keep the land of the Afghans contented with her sheltered existence

by a judicious use of force and money. At one time it had thought to keep a protege on the Afghan throne, always agreeing to the line of Simla on every conceivable occasion. That was the Lytton tradition coincident with Benjamin Disraeli's vaunting imperialist dreams. The nearness of the Russian Bear and the natural fastnesses of Afghanistan stood in the way of success of these adventures. The search for a "scientific border" in the hills and dales bordering the country did not attain the success hoped for. And Afghanistan retained its practical freedom because Nature had put her as a buffer State between British India and Russia's Asia. In 1919-20, during the uncertain days of Russia's revolution, Amanullah Khan, son of Emir Habibullah Khan, a steady ally to Britain, tried to assert his own way with the many tribes that inhabited his eastern borders, trying to use them as a spear-head against the British regime weakened by the first World War. He failed and later had to flee his own country, which revolted against his too modern activities. Since then Afghanistan has remained a "hermit" kingdom, almost unaffected by the mighty communist upsurge around her in Central Asia. Nadir Shah and his son Zahir Shah, the present Afghan King, have been able to maintain their country's independence balanced between British India and Soviet Russia.

With the withdrawal of British power from India, and the setting up of an exclusively Islamic State in the neighbourhood of Afghanistan, the ruling classes of Kabul appear to have roused themselves from their somnolence. The impact of this awakening has touched Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's realm trying to find her feet in the new circumstances. There have been speculations that the hard realists of the Soviet Union are at the back of Kabul's move towards the Arabian Sea—the country, whose rulers have for more than three centuries been trying to gravitate towards the open seas through the Bosphorous, through the Persian Gulf. Britain has been baulking Russia's ambitions these centuries. Now, when she appears to be on the retreat from this region of the earth, it is not quite unlikely that the ruling powers of the Soviet Union should be thinking of using the Afghan for their centuries old purposes. Sardar Najeebullah Khan, Special Envoy to Pakistan, submitted certain proposals in this behalf to Pakistan's Foreign Office which have appeared in the *Sind Observer*, the personal organ of Sind's Premier Khuro :

Official recognition of the right of self-determination of the Afghans, bringing the Pathans under one administrative unit and calling it by a name which may symbolise the culture of the Afghans, resettling the question of Pak-Afghan boundaries, establishment of embassies in the capitals of the two countries, a free zone at the port of Karachi : a treaty of neutrality in case of attack on any of the two parties.

Though Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is the Foreign Minister, he has at his beck and call advisers from the old regime. We shall not be surprised if 'British experts'

are found briefing him for his confabulations with Sardar Najeebullah Khan. So far as it is known Afghan support to the "Pathanistan" demand has been halted by the contention that the Pak Constituent Assembly is alone competent to deal with "the question of Tribal areas." A session of this Assembly has just closed without any decision being heard of, though Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan had joined it and put forward this demand on behalf of Pathans. The demand for a "free zone" at Karachi constitutes the most difficult of the negotiations. Sardar Najeebullah Khan was reported to have presented the Pakistan Foreign Minister with copy of an agreement by which the British Government appeared to have "agreed to give Afghanistan a corridor to the Arabian Sea"; he also sent drafts of agreement and treaties on "similar lines" about ports in Pakistan. The Karachi Foreign Office submitted counter-proposals, and the two parties did not appear to have come near solution of the intricate problems raised by the Afghan Envoy. Matters rest here.

Palestine

Britain has got Palestine into a mess just as she did in India. In course of twenty-seven years she has squandered about a hundred crores of rupees of British 'tax-payers' money on a wild goose chase—on Winston Churchill's scheme of a west Asiatic empire built out of the debris of the Turkish empire. After twenty-seven years Britain finds this outlay a loss ; she has to write it off as a loss. She has decided to quit Palestine by the 15th of May next. And during the interval from now, her military and police forces are being killed impartially by the Jew and the Arab. And her Labour Government has been called upon to preside over the liquidation of her dreams of hegemony in this region of the earth. From reports that reach the world outside Palestine, we come to learn that Britishers as individuals and groups have been enlisting for service in Palestine, the majority on the side of the Arabs. The Arab League recruiters are busy helping to smuggle out of Britain these helpers. British Jews also are not inactive ; they are buying air-craft and military materials from the surplus British equipment. The Arab side has sums equal to Rs. 13 lakhs "available immediately for their purchases"—specially jeeps for desert warfare. Mr. Jan Micardo, one of the "keep left" M.P.'s has thrown some light on these goings-on. "We are arming the Middle East. We are training the Middle East to fight. We are doing all sorts of queer things there." He alleged : "We are assuring that the Arab States will have plenty of forces when they start monkeying about with the United Nations." To what good ?

Sugar Industry

The sugar industry has been built up by the sacrifice of our people during the last sixteen years when it was granted protection against the competition of Java and subsidies to improve its mechanics of production.

We have seen an estimate that said that about two hundred crores of rupees have gone from the pockets of the Indian consumers to this industry. But we are not sure that it can even now stand in competition of the Java and Cuba sugar industries if the Indian market is thrown open to these. During the last few years the record of this industry in India has not been creditable to its honesty, and even after "decontrol" two months back, the spirit of profiteering has been as strong as ever. This has lost them the sympathy of Indian consumers, and we are afraid that the Government cannot long prolong their tutelage of this industry; they will find it difficult to resist the pressure of an angry public opinion inflamed by years of exploitation of their patriotic feeling for the defence of this industry.

Capitalist interests engaged in it are aware of this feeling seeking an outlet for expression. The last meeting of the Indian Central Sugarcane Committee was an occasion when the Chairman, Shri Datar Singh, was found expressing his fears about the future when Pakistan will start importing sugar from Java and Cuba, and the sugar industry in the Indian Union will have to depend solely on the internal market. For, by an international agreement, the Indian sugar industry agreed to limit their activities to the Indian market. This handicap will have to be broken through. The areas under Pakistan produced 23,273 tons of sugar in 1945-46; those in the Indian Union and in the States acceding to the Union produced 8,25,921 tons or 87.42 per cent of the volume of sugar.

The industry depends on subsidies financed by a special excise on the industry distributed by the Government. Out of it they expect Rs. 50 lakhs for the establishment of a new Institute of Sugar Technology and Sugarcane Research at Lucknow. There is already a College of Sugar Technology at Kanpur, and we do not see the need for another inside the same province. If an Institute be at all necessary, it should have its habitation in another province.

India's Foreign Policy

The debate raised in the Legislature of the Indian Union on our Foreign policy leaves us with the impression that the majority of the speakers in the debate did not have any particularly original or brilliant thing to say. A few of them talked of "realism" charging the minister in charge of External and Commonwealth with "idealism." But they do not appear to have been able to sustain this charge against Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The debate rambled from U.N.O. to Pakistan, Indonesia, Korea and India's future relation with the Commonwealth of British Nations. Prof. Ranga who initiated by a cut-motion this debate talked of "a positive policy". The report of his speech that we have seen did not give us any idea of what that policy should be. Mr. Hussain Imam, till late a shining light amongst the "Pakistanis" of Bihar, wanted India to take "the leadership of all the

exploited nations of the East." Mr. Kamath of the Central Provinces wanted two contradictory things—"India should not participate in international disputes and like activities"; India should "endeavour to have a bloc with Russia, China and herself." Kuomintang China or Communist China? Mr. Santanam's was a counsel of perfection—India "should make friends with every one who could, and was willing to help her" to become "economically and militarily strong." Such help in this imperfect world of the U. N. O. cannot be had without a price. Prices vary, and India might not be able or willing to pay these, demanded by the two rival blocs that divide the world. Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed, another "Pakistani" from Bihar, suggested that India "should join the democratic group, led by the Anglo-Americans." This sampling of opinions did not help the clarification of the issues involved, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru did not find any difficulty in bringing reality to the discussion. He could not satisfy curiosity with regard to India's future relation with the British Commonwealth because the Constituent Assembly could be expected to decide it in its collective wisdom. His reference to the four million Indians in the various colonies and "self-governing" Dominions of Britain recalled us to an aspect of the question about their citizenship. But the most important part of his speech was where he said that

he was not, in spite of his being minister in charge of External Affairs, interested in external affairs so much as in internal affairs at the present moment, because external affairs would follow internal affairs; but there was no basis for external affairs if internal affairs were wrong.

This approach to India's foreign relations would seem to suggest the wisdom of "isolationism" till we are more strong. Pandit Nehru was conscious that "we are potentially a great nation and a Power;" that Asian nations in their search for a "lead" in U. N. O. matters "automatically" turn their eyes on India. This may be a great dignity. But it is also a position of great responsibility. We cannot be hustled into it. We have done nothing to "merit any kind of leadership." This is realism. So far so good. But we cannot say we are quite satisfied as to the running of this policy.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru further stated that the general position was defined by the Constituent Assembly right in the early stages and it would finally be decided, of course, by the Constituent Assembly itself. "Whatever the final decision might be, it is quite certain, I believe, that India would be a completely independent and sovereign Republic or Commonwealth or State, call it whatever you like"—Pandit Nehru said. That did not do away with the consideration of the other problem of what India's relations should be with England or the British Commonwealth or any other group. Apart from other

questions, it affected the citizenship of all Indians in the various British colonies. In any event, politically and otherwise, India must be a completely independent country.

Reiterating the basis of India's foreign policy, Pandit Nehru said that even purely from the point of view of opportunism, a straightforward, honest, independent policy was the best. What that policy should be at a particular moment it was very difficult to say, because things changed rapidly from day to day. It might be that India had to choose what might be a lesser evil in a certain set of circumstances. "But we stood in this country for democracy, for an independent sovereign India," the Prime Minister said. "Obviously we ought to be opposed to anything that is opposed to the real, essential democratic concept which includes not only political but economic democracy. We would resist any imposition of any other concept or any other practice here. It is not a question of our attaching ourselves to this bloc or that bloc. It is merely the fact that we are potentially a great Nation and a big Power. It is not liked possibly for some people for anything to happen which strengthens us. So there are these various things to be considered. It is not such a simple matter for us just by a resolution to affiliate ourselves to this organisation or that organisation and get all the privileges of membership of that. That kind of thing is not going to happen."

Admitting that the External Affairs department and our Information Services had not functioned at all well in the past many months or a year, so far as our fundamental approach to this problem was concerned, Pandit Nehru said, "The more you analyse it, there is no other way. It is not a question of your adopting a certain policy because idealistically you think it a good one, but there is no other policy for this country to adopt to the slightest advantage." Panditji also said that our policy thus far in regard to various delegations to foreign countries had not been a very happy one.

When our Prime Minister has declared that India's foreign policy will be one of clear and straightforward honesty, we hope he will first try to overhaul the External Affairs department whose personnel seem to be unable to fit themselves within the four corners of the framework now defined in a clear and unambiguous language. India's vote at U.N.O. in favour of partition of Palestine has been very unhappy. Still more unhappy and unfortunate has been her delay in extending official recognition to the Free Viet Nam Government who, fighting for more than two years, have practically freed their country from French Imperial domination. During the last war, a motley of "Free Governments" of various countries of Europe overrun by Hitler had grown up in London and all of them were granted political recognition by the Allies with great promptitude. The recognition of Free Viet Nam is going by default and it would have been a happy consummation of the new foreign policy of India if the first recog-

nition for Viet Nam came from our country which had a very long cultural connection with that land when it was called Champa.

The selection of India's Ambassadors and Foreign Office personnel has, to say the least, been most unfortunate. The selection of Mr. Asaf Ali for Washington had not the people's backing and the choice has not been happy. The Ambassadors for Egypt and Burma again are open to severe criticism. The Moscow Embassy has been, so far, more decorative than active and useful.

A recapitulation of the rules followed in the selection of Ambassadors by ancient Indian kings, as recorded in the Manusambhita, may be of use to our present Ministers. The Manusambhita says that the king should appoint as Ambassador one who is conversant with all the branches of knowledge, is intelligent enough to follow the meaning of a wink in the eye, is pure in his conduct, is efficient in his work and is born with a high family tradition. The Ambassador should know the art of gaining popularity without compromising his principle in any way. He must be a teetotaler, and a person of strict moral and financial honesty, because in that case the enemy of his king cannot influence him through drink, woman or money. He must have a strong memory and a masterly grasp over the history and law of Nations so that, in the absence of specific instructions, he can come to a quick independent decision on the spot when there is no time for reference to his home government. He must be fearless and a master of many languages.

When a Hero Dies

Under this caption the *Pakistan Times* of Lahore had an appreciation of the lifework of Gandhiji which we propose to share with our readers. The writer at long last appeared to have realized the significance of "the infinitely greater Gandhi, the man", whose body and voice lost during the last few months their ephemeral character, and "became timeless symbol of compassionate life and fearless rectitude."

" He saw, as few of us can fail to see, that spread out underneath the present political contour of India and Pakistan is one vast immensity of unhappiness and fear and suffering, and he strove as few of us have had the courage to strive to press back the dimensions of this suffering. . . . He saw as few of us can fail to see that the present bloodshed and savagery are the beginnings of an unholy assault not only on our freedom newly-won but also on our culture and civilisation inherited from our remote ancestors and he fought as few of us have had the courage to fight against this frenzied onslaught. And now he is gone. There have been great heroes in history who lived and fought and died to preserve their own people from dangers that threatened and from enemies lying in wait. It would be hard to name any who has fallen fighting his own people to preserve the honour of a people not his own. No greater sacrifice could be rendered by a member of one people to another and no greater tribute could be paid to the

supremacy of fundamental human values as opposed to passing factional squabbles. . . ."

Popular Government in Kashmir

The Interim Government in Kashmir has come to an end. The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has issued a proclamation declaring that a responsible government has been set up in the State. Reading out the proclamation in the Indian Parliament, Pandit Nehru said that the Council of Ministers in Kashmir will consist of the Prime Minister and such other Ministers as may be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister and act on the principle of joint responsibility. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah has been appointed as the Prime Minister with effect from March 1. A Dewan appointed by the Maharaja will also be a member of the Cabinet.

The Council of Ministers will take appropriate steps as soon as restoration of formal conditions has been completed, to convene a National Assembly based on adult suffrage, having due regard to the principle that the number of representatives from each voting area shall as far as practicable be proportionate to the population of that area. The constitution to be framed by the National Assembly will provide adequate safeguards for the minorities and contain appropriate provisions guaranteeing freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. The National Assembly will, as soon as the work of the new constitution is completed, submit it through the Council of Ministers to the Maharaja for his acceptance.

Pandit Nehru also presented the House with a White Paper which recorded the events relating to Indo-Kashmir-Pakistan relations. He prefaced his statement with some general observations on the developments in the State and commented on one dominant phase which was taking place, namely, the integration of Indian States into India. In his statement, Pandit Nehru gave a rather detailed account of the part Pakistan was playing in aiding the raiders, a summary of which is given below :

Our complaint against Pakistan was that it incited and aided tribesmen from outside and its own nationals to wage war on Jammu and Kashmir State. Incursions by the raiders into State territory, involving murder, arson, loot and the abduction of women were continuing. The booty was being collected and carried to tribal areas to serve as an inducement to tribesmen to swell the ranks of the raiders. In addition to those actively participating in the raids, a large number of tribesmen and others had been collected in different places in the districts of West Punjab bordering upon Jammu and Kashmir State, and many of them were receiving military training under Pakistan nationals, including officers of the Pakistan Army. They were being looked after in Pakistan territory, fed, clothed, armed and otherwise equipped and transported to the territory of the Jammu and Kashmir State with the help, direct and indirect, of Pakistan officials, both military and civil. The equipment of the invaders included modern weapons, such as mortars, medium machine guns, the men wore the battle dress of regular soldiers, fought in regular battle

formation and used the tactics of modern warfare. Man-packed wireless sets were in regular use and even mark 'V' mines were being employed.

More than once, the Government of India had asked the Pakistan Government to deny facilities to the invaders, facilities which constituted an act of aggression and hostility against India, but without any satisfactory response. On December 22, I handed personally to the Prime Minister of Pakistan in New Delhi a letter in which the various forms of aid were briefly recited, and his Government were asked to put an end to such aid promptly and without reservation.

As no reply to this letter was received for some days I sent a reminder by telegram on December 26. On December 31, the Government of India informed their Ambassador in Washington to convey a message to the Chairman of the Security Council of the United Nations. This message was a reference to the Security Council under Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations. On that same day the full text of the message was sent to the Prime Minister of Pakistan by telegram.

On January 1, I received a reply from the Prime Minister of Pakistan to my letter dated, December 22. The contents of this letter revealed no helpful approach to a solution of the Kashmir problem. They consisted only of a series of fantastic charges against India, e.g., a determination to crush Pakistan, organise genocide of Muslims in India and the procurement of the accession of Kashmir by force and fraud.

This letter, even if it had been received earlier, could not have modified our decision to request the Security Council of the United Nations to ask the Government of Pakistan : (1) to prevent Pakistan Government personnel, military or civil, from participating and assisting the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir State, (2) to call upon other Pakistan nationals to desist from taking part in the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir State, (3) to deny to the raiders (A) access to and use of its territory for operations against Kashmir, (B) military and other supplies, (C) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle.

The House will remember the circumstances in which we had sent our forces to Kashmir. Kashmir State territory, that is, after the accession to Indian Dominion Indian territory, was being invaded, to the accompaniment of murder, arson, loot and the abduction of women. The whole country-side was being ruined. Fresh raiders were continually coming from Pakistan territory into Kashmir State. All the fighting was taking place in Indian Dominion territory.

The invaders had their principal bases across the border in Pakistan, received supply and reinforcements from them, and could go back there to rest and recuperate in safety. Our troops had strict orders not to enter Pakistan territory. The normal course to prevent raids on Indian territory would have been to deny the use of any bases to them in Pakistan.

Since Pakistan was unwilling to co-operate with us in this manner, the alternatives left to us were to send our armed forces across Pakistan territory for dealing effectively with the invaders, or to request the United Nations to ask Pakistan to do so. Any resort to the first course would have involved armed conflict with Pakistan. We were anxious to avoid this and to try every available method to find a peaceful solution. Therefore, the

only course left open to us was to make a reference to the Security Council.

On behalf of Pakistan there was a repetition of the fantastic charges against India which had been made previously in the letter of the Prime Minister of Pakistan to which I have referred. Pakistan refused to act at once, to deny assistance in men and material to our enemies in Jammu and Kashmir, to prevent further incursions through Pakistan into the State, and to ask the tribesmen and Pakistanis now in the State to withdraw unless a previous agreement was reached and announced to the effect that the Indian armed forces should be withdrawn completely from Jammu and Kashmir State and the administration of the State should be replaced by another administration. There were some other matters in dispute also but the principal ones were the two I have mentioned above.

In effect Pakistan not only admitted that they were aiding the raiders but made it clear that they would continue to do so till certain political objectives of theirs were achieved by them. This was a proposal to which the Government of India could not agree.

Explaining the objects of India's interest in Kashmir, Pandit Nehru said, "We have only two objectives in Jammu and Kashmir States to ensure the freedom and the progress of the people there and to prevent anything happening that might endanger the security of India. We have nothing else to gain from Kashmir, though Kashmir may profit much by our assistance. If these two objectives are assured to us we are content."

Sheikh Abdullah addressed a press conference at New Delhi after the Maharaja's declaration was read in the Indian Parliament. He reiterated the determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to clear the raiders from their territory. It was for the people of the State to decide their future after normal conditions were restored but he had, he said, "decided for ever to live and die with India, to work, for the honour and strength of India as a whole."

Indian Budget

The first annual budget of the Dominion of India presented to the Parliament reveals a deficit of Rs. 26.85 crores for the financial year 1948-49. The budget estimates for the year, at the existing level of taxation, are—revenue Rs. 230.52 crores and expenditure charged to revenue Rs. 257.37 crores. Current year's deficit will be Rs. 6.52 crores against Rs. 24.59 crores in the interim budget. Defence services are expected to cost Rs. 121.08 crores next year with an additional expenditure of a capital nature amounting to Rs. 14.99 crores. Expenditure on food subsidies next year is estimated at Rs. 19.91 crores and Rs. 10.01 crores has been provided for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees. Besides, the Government will advance Rs. 10 crores for the setting up of the Rehabilitation Finance Administration. Expenditure on relief and rehabilitation in the current financial year will amount to Rs. 14.89 crores against Rs. 22 crores, included in the interim budget. The Finance Minister, in his speech, referred to the Indo-British Sterling Agreement

and said that import of foodgrains was still a heavy drain on the country's foreign exchange. There would be no reduction in the extent of the Centre's assistance to the provinces in the matter of development schemes. Provision in the capital budget, for normal requirements and for the financing of the Central and Provincial schemes will be of the order of Rs. 165.5 crores in the coming financial year. Borrowings from the market are expected to amount to Rs. 150 crores.

The new taxation proposals made by the Finance Minister in order to make up the deficit have given rise to strong criticism. Business Profits Tax has been reduced considerably. The super-tax limit has been raised, both for earned and unearned income, to an extent which would cost the exchequer Rs. 1 crore. Tax on companies has been reduced to an appreciable extent. The existing specific export duty on cloth has been converted into an *ad valorem* duty and export duties on oil seeds, vegetable oils and manganese have been imposed. The doubling of the excise duties on tea and coffee and the raising of the excise duty on cigarettes and tobacco have hit the lower middle class people hard and these measures have been very unpopular.

The Budget has been severely criticised in the Parliament. Almost a universal grievance was that the Budget was no departure from the budget of the old British regime and that it contained no proper plan for the development of the country. In reply to criticism, the Finance Minister announced that he would consider sympathetically in the Select Committee on the Finance Bill, the question of giving relief from taxation to the lower middle class. According to lobby anticipation, the minimum taxable limit of income tax would be raised from Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,000.

We agree with the Finance Minister when he said that the budgetary position was very sound. But this soundness has come to no use to the average mass and the lower middle class. The burden of new taxation falls almost squarely on their shoulders. Rs. 7 crores have been raised by taxing them. We believe that this amount could have been found by introducing economy in the administration.

A Character-sketch of the Quaid-e-Azam

The New York Weekly, *Time*, made in October last an attempt to analyse the factors that made for the evolution of Mohammad Ali Jinnah into the Quaid-e-Azam (the great Leader) of the Muslim League. Not without reason did the writer put his finger on Congress' contribution to the Quaid-e-Azam's present eminence.

Mohamed Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, . . . Seeing few, taking advice from none, he sulked in Karachi, the raddled capital of his already half-ruined country.

Jinnah is far too easy a villain; conceivably an obsessed child of Mohamed, conceivably a man seized in his declining years by that most dangerous form of *satyriasis* which longs for naked power

alone, Jinnah has beyond question done more than any other man in India to exacerbate the sores of communalism and to tease and torment their rawness

Even so, he is much too shallowly held accountable; and there are extenuating circumstances. He is only a portion of India, and today all Islam stirs. In India, moreover, his people are a minority, largely an impoverished minority, and could by no means fully trust in the majority's will; Congress Party leaders consistently ignored his Moslem League in favour of Moslems he regarded as 'Congress puppets'; Nehru himself must be held responsible for under-estimating the force that Jinnah tapped, just as Western leaders for so long underestimated the evil well-spring that Hitler opened up.

Britain's Economic Sickness

Political prophets have started to say that the last twenty-four months have tested the quality of leadership in the British Labour Party and Government. These have proved themselves inadequate to the situation that confronts their country today. A Coalition Government as during the crisis-years of the second World War of the twentieth century could alone pull Britain out of the frustrations of peace. Sir Stafford Cripps is being tipped off as the head of this Government. The publicist in India may not be guided in his estimate of these speculations. But he cannot be wholly uninterested, specially when he remembers that Britain is a debtor to his country, and her economic solvency may expedite the payment of what are known as "sterling balances"; that her economic sickness may halt their payment altogether. This fact establishes a selfish interest in us for Britain's recovery. With all this, we cannot shake off the feeling that the conditions of success of this adventure in Britain's life are not quite propitious. Sir Stafford Cripps has given his country a slogan—"Export or Die". The Board of Trade has also given a blue-print of how Britain must reach an export figure, 140 per cent higher than that of 1938, if her people are to maintain decent standards of life. World economy, shattered by six years of war, may afford a new great opportunity to countries devoted to export trade as Britain has been since she pioneered the modern Industrial Revolution. But does Britain command the wherewithal to buy the raw materials of her industries, to buy the cereals from Canada, Australia and the United States on the import of which her people depend for seven or eight months of the year for their bread? On March 8 last, "the economic survey for 1948" was published by the British Government; it revealed certain "disagreeable prospects", said Sydney Campbell, *Reuter's* Financial Editor. He lay special emphasis on the fact that "Britain's position will be difficult with Marshall aid and impossible without it." Britain must sell to the "dollar area" more and more so that she can narrow the "dollar gap". There are other esoteric things, the significance of statistics of export and import which may be beyond the lay man. But he can sense it all right that Britain's economic sickness waits for a

physician who has not appeared in the ranks of Labour as it is at present organized in Britain.

The Late Mrs. Mary Das

We regret to learn that Mrs. Mary Keatinge Das, wife of Prof. Tarak Nath Das, well-known Indian revolutionary, author, lecturer and leader of the Indian community in America, passed away on January 10, at the age of 84, in her Manhattan apartment in Hotel Ansonia.

Mrs. Das championed the cause of freedom for India for the last forty years. She helped the movement for India's freedom from different parts of the world. Along with Dr. Tarak Nath Das she helped Indian students to prosecute their studies in Europe and America for more than three decades. She gave generous donations to various foundations which enabled many Indian scholars to come abroad for higher studies. In an age when progressive forces were weak in America, she was one of the few Americans who courageously joined her husband in taking a leading part for India's freedom. She also supported similar movements in other parts of the world. Mrs. Das was one of the founders of the National Woman's Party of America and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

B. S. Moonje

The death of Dr. B. S. Moonje at the age of 76 years removes from the field of mundane activities one of the most outstanding of the leaders of the Tilak school of politics. Early in life he showed the tendency of his mind when he joined the British Medical Service during the Boer War. The experiences gained during it made him a confirmed believer in the militarization of Indians whom British methods of administration, exploitation and enlightenment had de-militarized with a view to consolidate British strangle-hold over India. When we first came to know him during the anti-Partition agitation days, we found him dedicated to this cause which strove towards fulfilment in the Bhonsle Military College at Nasik of which he was the founder, the guide and philosopher. That he in his later life became the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha Movement was one of those changes in social psychology in India that betokened a revolt against the way of life indicated by Mahatma Gandhi. But this did not stand in his way of responding to every call for fight against British Imperialism sounded by Gandhiji except that of 1942. The last years of Dr. Moonje's life gave to community what was meant for the country. He died a disillusioned man fighting the battle for India's unity and integrity. He lived to witness the battle lost. But like a true warrior, he never despaired of the justice of the cause; to him the loss of a battle did not mean the end of the war which he would have renewed till victory was his. This is the task that he has left unfulfilled to his people, calling them to a re-dedication to the cause of freedom, and of unity. His soul will not rest till the historic continuity of India is regained.

RE-STATEMENT OF HUMAN VALUES

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

TODAY when all sense of human values has become unsettled and the curve dips very low, re-statement of these values in relation to every-day life, becomes both an imperative as well as a strenuous task. For values change as conditions of living change, and they can be measured only in so far as they trace the balance between the individual and his environment, his personality and the group he lives in, and maintain its harmony. Today modern civilization is threatening to shift its value orientation with growing emphasis from the dignity and nobility of personality to that of race, colour, blood and force.

Conflict between the old order and the new is always intense. It is to be found in the differing attitudes and morals of agrarian and industrial societies. To the pastoral age, the mechanical strikes as barbaric, greedy, irreligious, a denial of all that human beings had hitherto held sacred. And yet the new order has released undreamt-of energies with all the power of science. The old intimacy of family and feudal life tend increasingly to be replaced by a more impersonal and objective life, and in place of the old hierarchy and sanctions, is growing up a new one, built up and interpreted around machine and money. As one educationist puts it:

"The mechanics of the free market slowly came to replace the authority of the lords and of the Church itself. *Laissez-faire* individualism was the economic, social and ethical expression of the free market. The cash nexus of the market-place replaced the Church as the nervous system of the new order. The pocket nerve was more than a humorous expression. It was recognition of a basic fact in western culture."

In the very process of this change it evolved new values for a larger community life, giving new meaning to personality and to labour.

Thus moral values may change from age to age, may from decade to decade, in this high-powered world. But underneath it all, down the centuries and through the generations, there has been running a silken thread of continuity that not all the cataclysmic upheavals can snap what one might call the absolute values—the single concept which has always given a sense of sanctity to human life, and an abiding worth to certain human attitudes: love, sincerity and honesty. Their interpretation may vary at different times under different conditions, as a piece of sculpture may assume different lines in different lights and shades, as a flower may present different hues at different times of the day. But the basic article remains the same. Our rules of conduct may vary and shade off from one to the other, but the compelling force remains the same. The essence of the content continues, the spiritual sanction persists, only the external

expressions in terms of rules of morality change. The highest and the best in a human being has always meant the same, personal integrity, the capacity to love and serve others more than oneself.

These concepts are there, have always been there, like the stars that are blinded out by the glare of the day, but are fixed in the firmament nevertheless. The world of today is very chaotic but there is no reason for despair, for after all it is not an elemental chaos which rises out of causes beyond our control like a tornado or a blizzard. This is a social chaos created by man himself and with effort he can restore the world to order. It is so completely within his capacity and sphere.

The present moment is fraught with unprecedented tension. The human mind has been completely unsettled by the events of the last World War and its terrifying aftermath. The old landmarks have been flooded out, moral standards thrown into utter confusion, creating in humanity an utter frustration. History is after all as much of a biological process as an individual and the symptoms of historical pathology according to psychiatrists are almost identical with those of the individual. For the historical process is only that of collective individuals reacting together to a given situation. In the last three decades humanity has probably lived through experiences as new and as widely flung from each other as events separated by centuries. Humanity has obviously failed to adapt itself to these staggering changes and come to bear the stigma of imbalance. We have only to picture the condition by reproducing a million-fold or more the neurosis conditioned in a single system by constant mental pressure aggravated by repeated new trauma or shock. Neither our psychological nor social faculties have developed adequate faculties to meet these upsets. This condition is apparent to the discerning eye amongst all peoples—the victors, the vanquished and the neutrals. Referring to this evil Martin Gumpert, a well-known American physician, says :

"The fog of mental and emotional disturbance affects almost every public function and can be felt in United Nations, in the Congress, in our schools and on our streets."

Another physician Dr. Mackey remarks :

"There can be no doubt that the misdiagnosis and mismanagement of the so-called functionally ill patient is the medical scandal of the day."

The greater tragedy is that it is much more than a medical scandal—it is a fateful social tragedy. For the malady of imbalance is confined not to just an army of patients but almost our entire society—citizens on whom rests the responsibility for running

the State and deciding the destiny of millions. The entire Nazi movement was but a mass hysteria caused no doubt by the action of certain deliberate and calculated stimuli on physically and morally exhausted systems.

Such a condition is brought about either by abnormal shocks, such as during war periods, or equally so by living under depressing conditions. The advent of machine, for instance, threw whole communities into a complicated vortex. Before that human beings lived in tightly knit communities, members clinging closely together, conforming their lives to a well-established pattern, where the rules and the codes were familiar, the paths to tread each day, old beaten tracks; above all every individual was a wanted person, who had an accredited place and set job. Today we live in a world that is being continually jolted by changes suddenly wrought by fast-moving applied sciences that force us to keep adapting ourselves all the time to rapid changes, so that we hardly know where we belong or what is expected of us. Often when a machine takes over the tasks of thousands of men, these men find themselves uprooted convulsively, with no props to maintain themselves or their families, with complete loss of their social position and prestige. Trained for a certain established society they become helplessly stranded when the girders which maintained that structure are suddenly removed without any forewarning. New factors just flow into this order, scattering men and communities in all directions like whiffs of cotton in high wind, who become placeless and lost not only in their jobs but their communities. The social aspect of this which follows is even a greater evil. For people who train for professions simultaneously apprentice for social skills as well to enable them to get along with one another with understanding and appreciation. It is this quality above all which helps maintain social equilibrium in our collective organism. When men and communities are thrown off the economic rails, the social skills too wither. The two do not keep pace with each other today and the result is generating of anti-social forces. In fact no substantial effort is made to overcome the lag between the rapid progress in technical skills and the obvious slowness in the social skills to find new adjustments. Humanity does not and cannot stumble into new modes of life just mechanically. It has to be guided in building new institutions to cope with new environments. This is how Dr. Mayo, an authority on man in the machine age, says :

"Social skill shows itself as a capacity to receive communications from others and to respond to the attitudes and ideas of others in such fashion as to promote congenial participation in a common task."

When men are economically disrupted they necessarily become a prey to obsessive personal pre-occupations—brooding, hatred, vindictiveness, plans for revenge on society and the like. Dr. Mayo asserts that

"If one observes either industrial workers or university students with sufficient care and continuity, one finds that the proportionate number activated by motives of self-interest logically elaborated is exceedingly small. They have relapsed into self-interest only when social association has failed them . . . the issue lies right here—in an industrial mechanical physico-chemical advance so rapid that it has been destructive of all the historic social and personal relationships. And no compensating organisation or even study of actual social relationships has been developed that might have enabled us to face a period of rapid change with understanding."

In the old days when professions were hereditary, social skills too were handed down from generation to generation. In the present context special provision in our educational system must take its place, to thus guide and lead the way for the members of the society of today.

Education today can be defined mainly in terms of this rebuilding, reconstructing order out of disorder, peace out of conflict, happiness out of discontent. Education cannot lose itself, in plastering up the cracks in the old walls, bolstering up broken-down props and trying to whitewash the obviously unwashable black spots. While carrying over and preserving the old heritage, humanity needs to build upon new foundations, a new structure. That is the task of education in the immediate future, to train courageous pioneers who will venture into these modern forests of chaos, hew new paths, and rally all members of society to co-operate in a common structure in which man's potentialities and the benefits of scientific knowledge would have full play.

If the aim of education is to create wholesome attitudes towards life in order to establish harmonious and happy social relationships, it is necessary to make the child assimilate the more abiding values, ideologies, thoughts and actions which make for a larger and fuller individual life, and a richer and finely adjusted social organism, impart a philosophy of life, a spiritual foundation on which to build, a rod with which to measure, for in proportion to its adherence to this, will its purpose and function in life be evaluated. Happiness may, therefore, be interpreted as the realisation of this ideal or philosophy. The closer the individual's approach to it, the greater will be the sense of fulfilment and the higher the sense of satisfaction. In the very striving is the zest of existence the purpose of which imparts a meaningful contour to life and lends it depth and stability.

Education is a social process by means of which the individual is prepared to fit a complicated group pattern, wherein he may find a place that would best enable him to make his cultural contribution to the group and in return draw the warmth and satisfaction that comes of human contact and intimate relationships. As long as society remained simple, the task was easy, for relationships were direct. But as society grew more complex, the task became heavier, relationships more deviated. No more can the old attitude be

passed on to the young as tools for craftsmanship were once handed down from generation to generation. Nor can a fresh growing life be modelled upon the older. For thought *modes* change as the technique of living changes. The old conception of the apprenticeship of the young to the old, and of education as an agency to carry out the social purpose of conservation and transmission in order to ensure the survival and stability of society, need very considerable modification now. Something much more than mere conservation, a definite provision for adaptation to the changing demands arising out of rapidly altering conditions, becomes essential; in other words, there arises the vital need for a new sense of values, a reorientation of moral attitudes in life.

At no time has this task been beset with so many difficulties as at the present moment, with the growing conflict between the old order and the new, between the individual and the group, between man and woman. The last named conflict receding more to the background as other phases come forward to dominate the stage. But it is far from adjusted, particularly in India where the obsolete form and living thought are still in very sharp contrast.

The quality which lends the highest moral value to life is freedom. This ideal has haunted man since the dawn of history. Freedom is the essence of life and living is but the opportunity for the fullest development and expression of an individual's gifts and talents, and which alone can make for the completest growth of his or her personality. Only freedom can create and maintain an environment conducive to this. For where the individual's natural expression is thwarted, the frustrated element forges subterranean passages and takes on anti-social forms. The highest function of education is to encourage the urge towards freedom. Where it seeks to put the lid on, the moral balance is bound to be upset, for while the mind and heart give allegiance to the ideal of freedom, the lips will be given service to the authority which thwarts this very natural urge. This immediately creates a state of tension, mental reservations that falsify relationships, and a perpetual haunting by a sense of guilt at having let down the ideal and stemmed life's very impulse. But the attainment of the ideal is impossible unless the teachers are themselves free, free through experience and a comprehension of their responsibilities through a professional training for freedom. For the object of education should be to determine not merely the type of society, but also the aim of life; hence the overwhelming need for spiritual values to provide the necessary guidance.

Contemplation of ideals without the opportunity to realise them, necessarily leads to spiritual frustration. It is therefore as essential for educators to import ways and means of implementing the ideals placed before the pupils, as it is to impart methods of working out material formulae. So much of the disillusionment and cynicism among the youth comes of this bankruptcy at

the professionals to implement ideals, the complete divorce between the copy-book maxims, the slogans given by the leaders, and the actual paths along which they are ultimately forced by so-called exigencies. Today, systems of ideas, ideals, skills, information are inculcated in such a way as to give little or no help to adjust the gap between the ideal and its attainment. The classics, fine arts, science, philosophy, history all carry profound values for ennobling the present and improving the future only when a respect for one's culture and intellectual ability becomes a real experience. That is completely undermined in a politically subject people, and long exploited masses and our youth suffer from this severe handicap. That self-respect has to be restored. But self-respect comes from self-confidence, which is but a by-product of freedom. Without this basic moral foundation, all else becomes insecure, unreal.

Rising direct out of this is the isolation of the intellectual activities from the field of production and exchange, and the manifold inter-relationships these involve. Today, culture is regarded as a delicate hothouse plant which can thrive only in solemn isolation under careful shelter, far removed from the harsh din of the struggle for existence. This has also upset the moral equilibrium because unless our intellectual, ethical and aesthetic ideals are grounded and correlated to every phase of our economic and material existence, our moral values get confused, because irrelevant and illogical. Whilst we insist on our right to things of beauty and comfort, we rarely assume any conscious responsibility as to how those things are produced, by what immoral methods, sweating, child labour, ugly conditions of work, exploitation, and a whole train of human degradation and sorrow. Even where one has knowledge, the social conscience is lacking, due to this divorce, and mental dishonesty that results from it. Some explain it away as irrationality of historic forces, others as inevitable human nature, entirely forgetting that human beings are the product of a group (society) and the environment it provides. The sharpening of the social awareness is a process generated by the interaction between the child and the society and the surroundings provided. The educators assume no responsibility for that; they only shut the door of their splendid ivory tower the tighter.

"The cash-nexus of our culture, its pecuniary-mindedness, subordinates all other values and functions to the pecuniary where it does not completely suppress them. Thus our medical profession finds the pecuniary interests of its leaders in direct conflict with the interests and needs of the profession generally, and its broader functional role. Engineers and technicians, educators and other professionals find their acquisitive interests in direct conflict with their occupational functions. In short, the almost exclusive pre-occupation with the pecuniary aspect and relationship of occupations tends to rigidify their functions and to destroy their proper and necessary articulation with one another," comments a well-known educationist.

In the new society which is struggling to be born,

if culture is to be a vigorous and progressive moral force, it is necessary to maintain properly balanced relationships between the different functional fields of life, and make culture an element of common link in the total process of daily life.

The present condition of society all the world over is beginning to worry some of the thinking sections. Some of this is sensed in the new literature that is coming out. Victor Gollancz's "Our Threatened Values is Typical of This", wherein he says:

"At the crucial moment it will not be paper constitutions that men and women will obey; they will obey their own nature, such as it has become . . . means and not ends are the effective reality; behaviour, not the reason for it, is socially decisive . . ."

Incidentally he lays the blame for it at the doors of the interpreters of Marxism; Marx's insistence on materialism in the technical sense, an insistence prompted by a passion to liberate personality, has been a potent factor in the spread of materialism in the popular sense and in the growth of contempt for the very personality that Marx desired to liberate. Lenin carried it a step forward in that passionate urge for the ideal society whose protection to him meant so infinitely crucial that any method that might contribute to the absolute power—even if it be dictatorship, seemed not only necessary but a duty. Today not only Russia but the whole world is reaping its fruit because of the use of that technique by the communist in every country.

Up to the advent of Nazism, moral values were never openly abrogated although wide disparities yawned between precept and practice. Slogans and high-sounding catches that fill so gracefully from lips found no echo in action. Fascism however paid scant courtesy to niceties. They made a high cult of brutality and a philosophy of totalitarianism. Although the danger of fascist tendencies is not quite lost, it stands generally discredited, more because the countries which openly practised fascism sustained heavy defeats. But the communist party still continues to exercise its influence, especially on the young minds, by its ruthless "short-cuts" to achievements. So much has the youth of our country been exercised by this quality unaware of its grave implications. It has therefore become doubly imperative to reiterate the old moral values although in new terms to remind ourselves just as much as our youth, that those standards still continue to remain like faithful gate-posts to sustain that abiding quality in our body politic which lends meaning to our achievement. For we see only too well from experience that all isms or a State, called by any name you like, does not automatically assume the qualities of such a state. Nor is the mere economics that can for instance make a state socialistic, it is much more the actual structure and its capacity for allowing the citizens as free human beings. For where a socialist State is not at the same time liberal and democratic,

it is bound to become exploitative and oppressive not perhaps in the old conventional sense but in a different yet real way.

The moral issues of our day are necessarily concerned with the conflict between those who stand for what are recognised as permanent values such as liberty, tolerance, respect for the human personality. It is human experience that no society can hold together without some such cementing ties. At the same time one has also to realise that one can't rigidly adhere to forms where the content has been radically altered or the form is out of focus in a newly altered situation. Where the society is under quick transformation as at the present moment, the relative value of some of the old codes are bound to be affected, nay sometimes what was once commended as the virtue may now be condemned as an undesirable quality, such as for instance meekness and humility which Christianity extolled and managed thereby to keep the toiling masses in bondage. These qualities may be intrinsically alright but in their social application have been so grossly abused that unpleasant associations have sprung up around them. In their places new virtues or rather old concepts with new orientations are being substituted, such as that of thrift and industry, which mainly take on their colour from their setting. For thrift in a prosperous society would be miserliness just as industry in the sense of driving large sections of society to exhaustion to keep the smaller ones in comparative idleness and comfort, would be immoral. In the same way those based on excessive concern with individual rectitude need reorienting in the direction of social responsibility. Accumulation of private property, not only commended but even desirable in the highly insecure state of capitalistic society, would be a crime in the socialist state.

The abstractness of codes does not however mean that institutions, customs and laws are to be disregarded or despised and to carry on from hour to hour or day to day short-lived codes for each occasion; nor can it mean that because life is an unending chain of revolution one is only justified in engaging oneself in revolutionary acts every moment. For creative purpose, stability and freedom from too much tension is as necessary as change, otherwise no constructive work would ever be possible. That is why mankind has from time immemorial created institutions for canalising and preserving whatever it garners and gains from time to time in the course of its ceaseless march down the long centuries. The appeal and sanction of tradition are based on this. Otherwise one would not be able to plan life according to a desired pattern with reasonable hope of its being realised. The relative stability of such a condition is called peace, so dear to the storm-tossed human heart. In our present context of life the most dominating factor is the evaluation of moral values in relation to political life and institutions, particularly—*Grad*—but in

an increasing degree, the state is being endowed with definite and positive moral responsibilities and duties, in some instances it being a gradual transference from the individual and the society to the state. Charity, philanthropy and the like are today given constitutional status and integrated into the normal functions of the State. There are however other aspects of this relationship especially where a liberal, democratic socialist state is contemplated, as opposed to authoritarian, for while the latter calls up force, the former suggests spontaneity and agreement. Yet there can be no organised state without the two—as someone has said liberty struggles against authority, yet deserves it, at the same time while authority checks liberty it seeks to keep it alive. Really speaking in the political context force and consent are correlative. Every consent is more or less forced, but the compelling factor need not necessarily be a weapon of violence, rather one of reason and agreement built upon facts. Liberty is the complete experience of an individual of the joy of projection and expansion, to enable the personality to feel the various expressions of life in his own way and give scope to individual tendencies and activities, faculties and aptitudes, so that he can do what is satisfying to himself, while authority represents the order and regularity, the self-imposed restraints which reasoning individuals realise they owe to each other, thereby strengthening each in the collective, and, the all in one. It is to serve this that democracy is upheld, signifying the desire to give the masses importance in the shaping and deliberating of their affairs. Every form of human activity as it unfolds, takes strength from all other activities. This applies equally to politics into which come so many other aspects of human activity—for no activity is isolated. One may say therefore that no moral codes can be built up except through the economic and political structures. After all every citizen of a state in some measure or another puts into practice his ethical beliefs through political life. The conventional belief that politics is only machiavellism in which moral standards have no place, has been completely exploded by men like Gandhiji who in the definition of Croce, the distinguished Italian Social Philosopher, is interpreted as "the politics of a Saint, who in order to attain his saintly goal, availed himself of the sole means of attaining it, which were those offered him by politics". Politics is after all only a means, not an end. A real moral education must embrace political education, that is cultivation of qualities which will imbue every type of public activity, so that sovereignty is translated into terms of duty, fear is replaced by confidence, and equality becomes not a mathematical quotient but a consciousness of our common humanity and common rights. Then the state itself ceases to convey a simple utilitarian relation and become instead of a *synthesis of forces*, *synthesis of culture*.

The growing emphasis on the rights of the individual and the struggle towards a democratic form of society, also raises a conflict in moral concepts. This is further complicated in Indian society—still semi-feudal in character and stamped by family authoritarianism—by a direct challenge from a rising industrial community with its new set of values. Democracy, which is a social ideal on respect for the individual, recognises and safeguards the uniqueness of each personality, affirms the individual's right to equal—not identical—opportunities for the development of his or her potentialities, believes that each has something special to contribute, and that each, while taking something away from society also puts something back. "Public education emerges from and flows into the stream of social living." These concepts no doubt militate against the "take over" from a previous age that has gone by. But if we have faith in the democratic idea as we profess to do, and believe there is morality only in intelligent consent, that coercion resting on no matter how high-sounding a motive, is unethical; that "circular response" or an integration resulting from group exploration, discussion and interpretation represents a method superior to the dictates of a single mind, then we have a moral obligation to introduce and practise its basic principles in all phases of life.

This takes as its premise the concept of dialectics that is development and growth through the impact of the various internal forces in continuous rise and fall, thereby enriching life by change and variety instead of stagnation and monotony. It is these waves of renovation which ennoble life and endow it with stimulation. Therefore, a democratic society accepts the *bonafides* of these diverse currents and rather than set limits and checks, open the field to them to enable them to co-operate in "harmonious discord". The authoritarian society, on the other hand, distrusts opposition and spontaneous forces in conflict, believes in shortcuts to the seizure of its objective, insensitive to the means employed, prescribes established rigid regulations which can only be disobeyed at a fatal cost. It is also seen that the rises and falls of democratic groups do not lead to social deterioration or political collapse as in the authoritarian one, for as in the physical system, reactions produce crises. Rather it is a process which can be likened to the ploughing of the earth to woo a new crop out of it.

But if creative life forces are to inundate the narrow form of practical life and transform themselves into abundantly productive streams, the responsibility on each individual is greater than on the collective, the important thing is the vigour of the personality in whom the ethical ideal is deeply embedded and which he can reach for. Gandhiji has in his own quaint way characterised it as his inner voice, which Croce describes as "nothing but the needs of history personified in individuals and they gradually assume their proper order in the mass, in the intricacy, in

the struggle of individual actions gradually being translated into actuality in the manner and degree possible to them." It is therefore more realistic to put greater emphasis on the moral standards each individual conforms to, instead of their only burying themselves calling on the state to change its nature.

Indian women have also to fight against the double standard of sexual morality that still plagues Indian society, which is another aspect of the conflict of moral ideas. The older moral codes need definite alteration. Education has a great responsibility in replacing these false evaluations of sex, which have resulted in so much injustice and discrimination against woman, by a correct analysis of the two sexes in relationship to society. Education must bring society to a recognition of the social division of labour between the sexes, of the truth that woman power is basic and that she is a social and economic factor on her own, not as an assistant to man. It is also essential to make society accept the housewife as a distinct economic entity that makes an invaluable contribution to the national economy, though she may not labour at a machine or scratch at a desk and bring home a monthly pay cheque. In reality, even in material terms she is as much of a working woman as a factory worker, for she expends more energy, time and skill in the production of commodities than any legally protected industrial worker, for her working hours are practically unlimited and her tools countless. As for her social value it cannot be measured in terms of standard weights, as society is dependent on her not only for its biological perpetuation but cultural as well, for woman is one of the most important stabilising social forces in the home and outside. One

writer has rightly defined her social value as "priceless". Education has to reorient the traditional discount attached to the female sex as a whole, and give it an intelligent, scientific and cogent value. This alone can restore the moral balance which has long been very badly tipped between the social attitudes of the two sexes and society, with all its attendant hardship to women and the infinite moral damage to society as a whole.

The time has come when the old type of moral behaviour has to be replaced by a new, when it must not be forgotten that the young people of today are not merely heirs of the past but also the builders of tomorrow, that either spiritual values must become real and therefore, dominant, or the world be left for ever to the ravages and havoc that become inevitable when economic values alone prevail. Education must create in each human heart a new faith in a new philosophy that teaches, however paradoxical it may seem, that in the mathematics of present-day economics sharing leads to an increase in the good things of life, that plenty is maintained only when all have a share in it, that the greatest happiness of each is but a counterpart of the greatest good of all.

So man still continues to dream, hope and strive for a more human world from which exploitation and oppression, poverty and disease will have disappeared and the state become the expression of this noble life. For moral standards become meaningful only in translating those codes in terms of everyday life—or as someone has said, transform morals into politics. In this lies the salvaging of humanity from the present moral morass.

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WHY GANDHISM !

A Study in the Relationship of Technique and Civilization

By BUDDHA PRAKASH, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.

CIVILIZATION is the supreme art of Life-spirit. It is the attribute of concord and co-ordination, the function of harmony and homonoia, the spirit of adaptation and adjustment. Human relations are, in fact, marked by discord and conflict as those of other lesser breeds and blind elements of nature. But there is a fine instinct in man, which generates a sense of restraint and a spirit of sacrifice and thus makes possible a social order, a political state and a religious fellowship. This instinct is the root of civilization whose outward symbol is the 'civitas' or the state.

The civitas and hence civilization requires an environment of placidity and accommodation among different phenomenal and human forces. The relationship of physical surrounding and human existence is as vital to the genesis of civilization as that subsisting between human beings *inter se* in respect of matters of common concern. The

first relationship leads to the progress of physical science and development of material paraphernalia; the second results in state, society and religion. This bi-faced evolution—material and spiritual—tending towards command over environment is known as technique. This is instrumental to the growth of civilization in so far as it helps create an atmosphere of adjustment and harmony, in which physical forces, animal impulses and spiritual urges meet in a symmetrical pattern to form a cosmic *sittlichkeit*. Technique and civilization are in this way, intertwining in their effects and inter-related in their incidence. As technique progresses, the mechanism of accommodation advances and civilization steps forward. Likewise, as civilization rises, the spirit of accommodation is ingrained deep and the technique becomes perfect. The process of technique promoting civilization is that of thought evolving into action and a machine put to production. A

thought can never become action until the impelling urge of spirit brings to bear on it its moulding influence ; a machine can never act as a productive agency until the steam-pressure of human effort moves it on. This moulding influence or formative force, this steam-pressure of effort are the indicia of civilization. Technique, therefore, is a sign of civilization only if it is annealed, assimilated and formed an integral part of human life. It is a sign of un-civilization if it results in indigestion, diarrhoea or constipation. Technique has, thus, to develop with regard to the general trend of civilization. History abounds in instances wherein technique displays an overgrowth and smothers the life of civilization. Like the overfed Roman, who vomits to eat again, till he succumbs to nausea, an ailing civilization goes on intaking techniques till it finds itself cramped by it. Like a spider it is caught in the cumbrous web which it so strenuously weaves.

In the early history of life some species of fishes evolved a remarkable system of fins which facilitated quick movement in water but this specialized technique destroyed the incentive to further development. Hence those poor species, which were fastened to the floor, provided the stimulus for the next stage of evolution. They emerged as amphibians and reptiles. In course of time these reptiles, in turn, abnormally swelled in bulk and developed an abstruse technique of life, which told heavily on their mobility and adaptiveness and rendered them unfit to respond successfully to the challenge of the ice age. In their place, the rats came and carried the process of biological evolution ahead. Their successors, the anthropoids and later the Neanderthals, again cultivated an advanced technique of living as manifest from their paintings and funeral paraphernalia. But they could not summon the stamina to contend with the conditions of the fourth glacial epoch and in their place, the authors of the upper Palaeolithic culture, that was infinitely poorer in technique, led the course of evolution to its goal, viz., man.

In human history also, the Polynesians, Eskimos and Nomads showed great inventiveness by taming a forbidding environment by means of the amazing techniques of seamanship, salmon hunting and domestication of animals respectively. But their life-spirit was spent in their endeavours and their civilization was at last arrested. Likewise in ancient Egypt and Babylon, architecture and engineering reached a high pitch of development. The pyramids, colossal obelisks, canals, siggursats and towns still vouch for the great technical achievement of our ancestors. But it is equally true that their cultures curbed the progress of civilization and the uncultured barbarian invaders came and spurred it on.

Turning the searchlight towards our own civilization of the present age we find that we have tremendously advanced in science, industry and techniques. Practically all activities of human life are done by machines. Sowing and reaping of corn, spinning and weaving of cloth, cooking, lighting, printing, building—all are done by power-driven engines. Even travelling, talking, writing and coupon, have become mechanized and in developed coun-

tries feeling and thinking are also getting mechanized since mental complexes have begun to be shaped by administration of various hormones. In brief, man has been enmeshed from all sides in the net of techniques. These giant techniques, of course, demonstrate the great co-ordination of human endeavour and pooling and pumping of vast reserves of energy and skill. Never has such close collaboration been displayed by mankind on a world-wide scale ; never has such control over nature been achieved in history before. Man's mastery over his environment, effectuated by his conquest of matter and command over time and space, is an unprecedented *chef-d'oeuvre* of human progress. This crowning triumph is the result of extreme specialization of role and subtle distribution of functions made possible by the growing capacity for social accommodation and adjustment. So far it is a sign of the growth of civilization. But, side by side, this striding development of techniques could not be absorbed and assimilated by man. Hence it could not cause any improvement in the general health. It rather impaired it by over-feeding. The result is the anomalous position of gluttony and anaemia, of over-production and under-consumption, of exceeding command over environment and loosening grip of conscience. Egypt, for instance, was asked in 1936 to reduce the cotton acreage to a third of every plantation ; Cuba curtailed the sugar crop to 4½ million tons in 1927 ; Brazil destroyed 12 million bags of coffee in 1931 ; Jersey let her cows go dry ; Mexico wasted her figs and the United States of America have burnt their wheat. Recently an enormous quantity of potato was destroyed in Alabama under the Congressional price support programme and a drastic cut in the rice production of California is in contemplation. All this is being done while there is a global scarcity of foodstuffs. This shocking paradox of modern civilization shows that there is something wrong with it. There is thus scarcity amidst plenty. The maldistribution of wealth has polarized the disparity between moneyed and poor people and precipitated class conflicts and revolutions. These vertical differences have been accompanied by horizontal differences on a wider plane. Cumulative acquisitiveness, known as nationalism, has pitted all countries of the world against each other in an arena of internecine wars. These wars have been rendered ghastly and destructive by the impact of industrialism, democracy and science and scourged by them the world is awaiting the fate of Hiroshima day and night. Thus all the forces of progress are providing impulsion to the engines of devastation. Human civilization is drifting towards a black-out !

The reason is simple : The progress we have made is an illusion ; it has enslaved its maker ; it has crushed his soul and made him a flywheel of the machine of nature. It has made him like a cotterpin, a cogwheel, a crankshaft, a pulley or a piston. A worker working on a rotary machine, which types, prints, cuts, folds and bundles, acts only as its handle ; a person operating a crane on a harbour and lifting tons in a trice is an insignificant cogwheel of that giant mechanism. Deafened by din and dazed with speed, this black dust-covered marlock, the ghost

of man, has become a chattel and an automaton. He has lost his heart and sold his soul. He has become subject to so many complexes and stimuli that he is unable to bear them. Extreme specialization and technicality have resulted in one-sided development of his personality and led to narrowness of outlook. Narrow-mindedness begets bigotry and want of accommodation. Hence the riddle and crisis of present civilization.

One of the consequences of the mechanization of techniques has been a speedy over-production of goods which cannot all be consumed by their producers. Necessarily that have to be exported abroad. But the outer-markets are themselves replete with foods, since those countries are being industrialized and rendered self-sufficient and the exporters are also at loggerheads to sell cheaper. Therefore, on one side there are tariffs, protections and bounties and on the other there are colonies, empires and monopolies. Thus nationalism collides with colonialism and the result is war.

There are critics who ascribe these evils to the economic system of capitalism. They argue that with the rise of socialism the motive for profit would disappear and the conflict for exports would come to an end. Colonies and empires would vanish away and countries excelling in one article would freely supply the surplus to those who need it. There would be no question of over-production, for the international field of free distribution would absorb all that now looks surplus. Man also will have to work less, his needs being easily and adequately satisfied, and will have more leisure to enjoy the amenities of life which civilization has made available.

The picture is very fascinating and granting that it becomes a reality, we are to ask as to whether man would be as happy and civilized as it portrays him. Leaving aside utopian criticisms, we should scan the success of this programme with the measures that are at our disposal at present. Regarding Indian cloth industry, it has been computed by a learned savant that if all the workers whom mill cloth keeps out of employment in India were to be engaged in machine-production, there would be enough cloth produced in India in one year to clothe the entire world for several years. In other words, the textile industry of all countries of the world would stop. Likewise other parts of the world which have specialized in other industries would meet the world-requirements in that respect. Middle East would supply oil; Argentine, boots; America, radios; England bicycles and Russia, what not. In this way there would be strictly one-sided development of industries in different countries and their people would be specialized to do only these varieties of work. This rigid division of work would result in rigid segregation of peoples and a stratified society of alphas, betas, gammas, deltas and epsilons each having different biological make-up and psychological techniques as depicted in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. In such society, the elaborate discipline of training and education and surgery would fit a man so completely to his station of life that he would have neither ideas nor organs for any purpose beyond it. Such people are fossils of men with no creative spirit,

no artistic impulse, no sense of self-culture. They have nothing in common which can bring them together; and their distance and difference create the same problem of adjustment which faces mankind today. In Russia, where some show of socialism was made, we find the same problem staring us in the face. Huge economic and mechanical plans have engulfed the creative personality of man and the cumbrous trade unions have not been able to save the individual from overwork. Recent income-tax laws show what great leeway is being given for the amassing of private fortunes and the ban on the freedom of thought and expression indicates as to what extent these laws can allow men to do so. Adding to this the foul game of power-politics, one can easily imagine the lethal and violent forces that this system has released to international relations. How then can it serve the cause of world peace and stability.

Thus socialism is not the lasting panacea of our ills. We want a radical cure and happily that cure has been prescribed by Gandhiji. Gandhiji has not dallied with the symptoms, he has directly diagnosed the disease. As a firm believer in nature-cure he has sought to treat the patient by quickening the curative process of his own nature. He has, therefore, not suggested tonics, extracts and elixirs; he has rather stressed on fasting, abstinence and penance. His patient is one of high blood-pressure and high neurotic tension. Hence he has tried to tone up his spirit by prayer, love and truthfulness. Instead of forming an idea and imposing it on society he has evolved the technique of improvement from the very defects of our civilization.

Gandhiji's thoughts and actions have been conditioned by Indian circumstances. Hence his culture and philosophy have the inextricable context of Indian life to explain them. Yet he has a universal message for mankind which he dreams to deliver through India of his ideals. His fundamental postulate has been the restoration of the mastery and freedom of human individuality. Hence he has preached a comprehensible, self-sufficing, full and free culture in which the personality of man may luxuriantly flourish and prosper. He takes, therefore, mankind to the vital springs of nature in which it may drink the blissful elixir of life. His 'back-to-nature' directive does not mean the renovation of atavism or reversion to animalism. He does not like man to be a slave of nature or servile to its base impulses; he also does not like him to pose as a master of nature and suppress its vital cravings. He wishes man to be a companion of nature, to establish harmony and concord with it, to derive freshness and nobility from its gentle elements and to fashion his life in close communion with all that is good, graceful and enlivening in its phenomena. He leads the baffled man of the ailing civilization to the bosom of mother earth for solace and inspiration. Thus he advocates a rural culture, wherein everyone works according to his capacity and breathes his soul in his work. Every such work is instinct with a creative spirit that prompts it and is, as such, the full and free expression of what is best in the worker. Such work is a spiritual need and not only a psychological

necessity, as Kropotkin argues. It is to provide such work to every person, that lives on the surface of the earth. that Gandhiji had launched his programme of Khadi and rural reconstruction. As he wrote :

"The problem is how to find work and wages for the millions of villagers who are fast losing the will to work, to think and even to live."

The rejuvenation of will-power, the bestowal of spiritual strength and the development of individuality in the framework of society are the hall-marks of Gandhiji's plea for simple living.

But this is not a dogma or a fetish with Gandhiji. He has throughout been a scientist and loved science. He is not prepared to forego the benefits that science has conferred on man. In his life, he used torch, watch, set of teeth, microphone, radio and motor car. What Gandhiji ever eschewed is the conversion of man into a machine. Even more Gandhiji hated dullness, idling, unemployment and inequality caused by extremes of richness and poverty. Hence, he envisaged free work of one's own free choice, which does not only bring economic freedom, but also leads to political freedom through it and is at the same time a way of spiritual freedom. Khadi is the symbol of free work. But it is not a superstition. If urban culture and industrial technique can be so developed and manipulated as to fulfill the ideals lying behind Khadi, Gandhiji would be quite prepared to renounce it. He has written :

"Khadi is the only true economic proposition in terms of the millions of villagers until such time, if ever, when a better system of supplying work and adequate wages for every able-bodied person above the age of sixteen, male or female, is found for his field, cottage or even factory in every one of the villages of India ; or till sufficient cities are built up to displace the villages so as to give the villagers the necessary comforts and amenities that a well regulated life demands and is entitled to."

Thus, Khadi is the tentative solution of the problems facing the present generation of mankind. It can conveniently become the stepping-stone to something better, in case civilization progresses along the lines laid down by it.

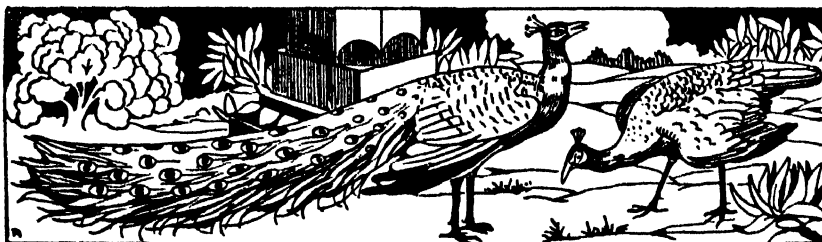
Technique has, thus, to be subordinated to civilization: it has to become a minister and not a master ; it has to promote adjustment and not to hamper it ; it has to aid the development of creative individuality and not to hinder it ; it has to make human life full, free and pleasant rather than dirty, thwarted and wearisome. This is

possible when man fully imbibes and follows the working of these techniques and contributes his best to their development. Then alone can there be equality or freedom. To think of equality in an age in which millions work blindly without understanding and appreciating what they are doing is a chimerical dream ; to conceive of freedom in an environment in which man toils mechanically without exercising his free will or expressing his creative instinct is logically absurd. To make equality and freedom real, it is necessary to equalize techniques and a knowledge of their operations, so that man may employ them according to his inner impulses and attain through them the height to which his personality is destined.

The Gandhist solution is commended by some eminent authorities of present thought for the ills of our society. Mr. Aldous Huxley, in his latest book *Science, Liberty and Peace*, has attempted a masterly exposition of the working of modern civilization and reached the conclusion that every advance in the application of pure science to mass-production and mass distribution, as is done almost universally at present, will increase the tyranny of an ever-increasing minority over the rest of mankind. He then goes on to consider the remedies and recommends passive resistance, propagation of religion, restriction of international trade as may curb competition and nationalist feeling and the localization of industries to replace mass production. All these are the cardinal tenets of Gandhism, as seen above. Mr. Louis Fischer also writes that the fountain of trouble is the vast accumulation of power. He, therefore, suggests the breaking of the citadels of power by decentralizing the processes of production and restoring the joy of Home-life.* But this is not possible in the existing system of production by heavy machines, until they are thoroughly integrated by mankind, as essential ingredients of their lifework. Hence like the Erewhonians, whom Samuel Butler portrayed in his satire *Erewhon*, modern man should realize that he has been enslaved by his mechanical inventions and hasten to rid himself of these shackles.

Today Gandhiji is no more amongst us, but it is wrong to say that he is dead. His spirit, his message and his inspiration would continue to emblazon the hearts of millions of men up to milleniums of years. His path is the best one for us to tread if we really wish to save our civilization from the dangers of the atomic age.

*See his book *Gandhi and Stalin* and his article in *The Hindustan Times*, April 2, 1947.



THE CROSS AND THE EAGLE

By Prof. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE. M.A.

COUNT KEYSERLING makes an interesting statement regarding the future saints of the world. In his opinion, the days of one-sided saints are gone. The future saints will be complete men in whom the forces of earth and spirit will balance each other and whose symbol will be the Cross and the Eagle. The coming of those saints has been prepared for, more than by anybody else, by Gandhiji. Gandhiji's philosophy is actually a philosophy of work which is quite in tune with the modern world of dynamism, not a philosophy which precludes the possibility of disinterested religious faith no less than that of unspiritual work, but is happy synthesis of both. This is his great philosophy of non-violence.

Non-violence is not Gandhiji's discovery, he rediscovered it. But in doing so he gave it a new life and a new character undreamt of before. The greatest saints of antiquity preached it and not a few of the modern thinkers speak of it passionately. Christ said :

"... but I say unto you that resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also."

The society of friends caught the spirit of this text, and Tolstoy got drunk from the same intoxicating source. Gandhiji has given this message a revolutionary character and role and made the most fruitful experiment in modern history. He has also made the tremendous possibility of Christ's message apparent to a misguided world. That is why we see that a few years ago Lansbury pleaded with Hitler to "adopt the principles contained in the gospel of Jesus Christ." Speaking at the Peace Aims Conference, Oxford, 1943, Lionel Curtis caught the same tune :

"Such a system must be a commonwealth, by which we mean the Sermon on the Mount translated into political terms."

C. F. Andrews is equally eloquent of the possibility of this message in his book on the above gospel. But no greater defeat of spiritual values, no more glaring wastage of spiritual wealth, has ever been witnessed in this world than the defeat of Christ's message. Tolstoy rightly pointed out that the men who repudiate Christ's message most are either non-believers or most devout believers. Christian Europe, therefore, went mad with violence. So was violence lurking in the exaggerated piety of the middle ages, and the holy crusades wanted to redeem the religion of love with the most implacable of hate. Modern Europe has crucified Christ for the second time. It was rightly thought during the first World War that one book which was to be closed indefinitely was Sermon on the Mount. It is interesting to recall in this connection the satiric picture in Joad's *Adventures of a Young Soldier*, where, an ironical interpretation of Christ's message is given thus :

"What is Christianity ? It is the religion of Christ, it means long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, justice and kindness. Therefore I would use our Air Force to bomb Berlin until the hated city lies in ruins."

But this was not always so, not, at least, during the early days of Christianity under Roman rule, when the persecuted minority of Christians pitted against barbarism a love-inspired faith, and could thus claim to be truer Christians than their more enlightened brothers-in-faith of the present century. Tagore put a very uncomfortable question, during the first Great War, to Andrews, who was then vacillating between the lurid lure of war romance and the stark asceticism of non-violence.

"What are you Christians doing," asked Tagore, "you have the clearest moral precept in the Sermon on the Mount. Why do you not work up to it ?"

According to Stephen Hobbhouse, it has not been possible for Christian Europe to penetrate to the full meaning of the Cross. Even while Christians in recent times have tried to live up to Christ's message, they "have not proclaimed it as the only salvation for mankind." It may be added that neither did they realise its importance in society and politics. It was therefore seen that bewildered Christians, after about two thousand years of failure, used to flock to Gandhiji to learn the way of the Cross.

One fact emerges out of the nebulous forecasts regarding the future world, that the spirit of religion, which the world has before long relinquished, has to be restored to it. Not religion in the popular sense of the term. High idealism which is the bedrock of religion and ethical spirit which every religion fosters,—these must be incorporated in our social life, as well as religion in so far as it recognises the brotherhood of man as the only social relation and peace as the only social aim. Christopher Dawson, Editor, *Dublin Review*, says that the renewal of civilization "can only be achieved by bringing back into the social life the deeper forces of religious faith and spiritual will which have been neglected and cut off from the dominant elements of modern culture by acquisitiveness and extroversion which characterise the age of material expansion." Again Wells in one of his pamphlets voices the same demand for the infusion of religious spirit into politics. The idea of non-violence is looked upon in some quarters today as a creed of medieval awkwardness, because of the element of religion incorporated in it. But it is not actually an out-of-date ideology. Truth, which is the very basis of the theory of non-violence, and is another name for God, as Gandhiji believed, is ever new. Then again the moral and religious spirit underlying it has acquired a new character in the hands of Gandhiji and is playing a new role. This theory has taken the breath out of religion and morality and infused it into social relationship, being a synthesis of two apparently irreconcilable elements, work and ethical spirit. It is this amalgamation of ancient spirituality with modern energetic action that makes Gandhiji's non-violence of such a unique character and inexhaustible value. Rightly has Einstein pointed out in this connection that

"The work of statesmen is permanent only in so far as they arouse and consolidate the moral forces of

their peoples through personal example and educating influence."

Biologists speak of a natural belligerency in animals which have to engage themselves in a maddening fury of struggle for existence, and violence thus has its own *raison d'être* in biological law. This idea is furthered by Freudian psychologists who proceed upon an assumption of death-instinct striving side by side with Eros. But the mere fact of a man's biological descent cannot confine him within the immutable orbit of struggle and survival. To evolve into more complex patterns, and leave behind more and more the remnants of crude biological origin is the sum-total of man's social and spiritual aspirations. The primitive society was conspicuous by violence-motives where an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, was the unwritten law. Violence, in some form or other, was thus a socially, and therefore, morally, legitimate behaviour-pattern. With the progress of civilisation, this ancient enemy got its fury a little allayed in some spheres of human activity, but in the national and international spheres of action it still stalks the civilised man. Non-violence can help its eradication by rousing up the moral sense of man through practice of self-immolating ascetism and propaganda. Even the gloom of Freudian pessimism is pierced for a while by the hopeful suggestion of the possibility of removing violence, at least, greatly allaying it, by suitable re-orientations through culture. Far from there being any attempt in history to eradicate violence from social relation, it was perpetuated with all the religiousness of a legitimate ritual. But violence is actually a primitive ethic stratified into human system. To disown it, to dig out its last vestige, will constitute the highest achievement of man.

In society, co-operation is of greater value than competition. The essence of social life is not always disharmony consequent upon biological rivalry, but reciprocity. Whitehead says in this connection :

"There is something in the ready use of force which defeats its own object. Its main defect is that it bars co-operation. Every organism requires an environment of friends . . . The gospel of force is incompatible with social life."

The mammoth animals of pre-historic times, conspicuous by physical fitness, have disappeared, and their less ancient successors, the kings of the jungles, are also fast disappearing. Even the fortunate animals, argues Whitehead, which are naturally endowed with protective shells, are also disappearing. But the shell-less non-militant creatures are miraculously surviving. This goes right against the emphasis rather confidently laid on biological struggle since Darwin. Not Nature red in tooth and claw but a society of species organised for co-operation, is what one can see in Nature. Not an insignificant part of Nature's law is aimed at securing co-operation between species and species, species and environments. How can this ancient pulse of germ and birth that we see in Nature keep its eternal rhythm, were it not for an organised and favourable adjustment of different elements?

Co-operation is thus the law not only of Nature but also of society. Communism recognises co-operation as of

great value, but does not eliminate war. While it does not idealise war, it, at the same time, recognises the importance, nay, the inevitability of wars of national liberation and class wars. Extermination of war is not possible unless socialism is established. On behalf of Russia, the only socialist country in the world, peace is claimed. D. N. Pritt says :

" . . . and the Soviet State can justly claim that through the whole of its twenty-three years, it has always striven for peace, not only for itself but for the people of all the countries."

Lenin also made the same claim for Russia. But the peace which socialism or communism visualises must have iron wings, and can not be achieved through non-violence. Its midwife is war, as Marx might have said. Communism envisages the last bloody throes through which the world must pass before the birth of a new era. But in any case, communism, which Rolland claims to be the only sincere political creed with a programme and justly so, falls short of newer ethical reorientation and prescribes the traditional weapon for the traditional ill. Can a communistic society with its social equitableness eschew violence altogether? That society, according to this ideology, has to be established through violence and maintained through violence, and it is to be asked if communism in itself is expected to create a moral regeneration of man to the extent of liquidating violence for ever. Social equitableness is the primary object of socialism, and not non-violence, either as a means or as an end, and the latter might not automatically follow from the former, unless a complete moral regeneration of man, which non-violence envisages, takes place, creating a new social ethics, in which acquisitiveness is not only a social crime but also a moral sin.

If peace is the ultimate goal of social relationship, then why have poets and prophets preached its untiring message, Cassandra-like, not to be believed? Why has earnest desire for peace not fructified, why when it has produced any effect, it has produced only a local and temporary one and why the dream of world peace has receded from human grasp with the elusiveness of a mirage? The roots of violence and aggression lie deeply embedded in man's powerful acquisitive motives and instinct for possession, which shape relation between man and man, state and state. So much of the peace propagandas of the world are therefore only wistful thinkings, starting, as they do, from the wrong way round, without facing facts. The peace-moves undertaken on the eve of the second World War by men like Lansbury and others failed. So also failed Roosevelt's appeal to Hitler to solve "all international problems at the council table." The reason is not only the Nazi country's aggressive hunger for living space, but also the infinite acquisitiveness of other countries. That is why it was seen that the pacifists were far outnumbered by so-called enemies of war who would accept a convenient and conditional peace, peace in so far as it was not contrary to their own imperialistic and colonial interests. Neither did the pacifist movement take the shape of a non-violent struggle. Avoidance of war

up to a certain point only, and a vehement war thereafter, was the policy of many of the leaders of Europe. This is not sincerity. What right had England, having India at her heels, to ask Germany to have no living space? In short, bankruptcy of the great powers stood on the way of their taking a fair and just stand against a more perverted moral bankruptcy which fascism represents. It was not love for peace, it was the maintenance of a dishonourable *status quo*, not a desire for equitableness among the nations of the world, but an anxious watchfulness over one's own vested interest. The allied powers, therefore, failing to face evil with their own broken backbone, prepared to meet it with violence, crush it, and be seemingly confident of a finality in the matter, and while after the first World War, national pride rose up phoenix-like from the ashes, this time it is the Frankenstein of power and pelf, which the war had let loose, now threatens its very creator, civilised man, with annihilation. With violence violence has not been quelled. Gandhiji said in this connection :

"If the enemy rob you of your earthly possession, you will yield because earthly possessions have nothing to do with your souls. This does not make you a bondman or slave of Hitler or Mussolini. But you cannot yield your soul to the conqueror because your conscience forbids you to do so."

This soul force, which emboldens one to dare defy the iron strength of dictators, has to be cultivated through the most difficult self-purification, involving purging out of acquisitive motives, motives of domineering, and of violence. If that can be achieved on individual scale and national scale, the fury of despots can be faced. Peace moves have failed in the past, because this self-purification on the part of individuals or States had not been achieved. Peace had been taken to be a relative and not absolute goal of states. People have interpreted peace in their own selfish and relative lights, and have not thought of peace through non-violence, which many have looked upon scornfully. Hitler called pacifism a communistic idea, Lenin called it a nationalistic idea, but nobody calls it a humanistic idea, which ought to be its only denomination.

A third world war, we are told, is already in the offing, an atomic war of course, which, as Bertrand Russell envisages, is likely to wipe out all civilised ways of life. A war after every twenty-five years is becoming the normal pattern of our society, and "all the interim is a phantasma or a hideous dream" of the throes of the last war and preparedness for the next.

Divisions and redivisions of territories, armaments and disarmaments, national and international efforts for peace, have failed. The League of Nations stood spectre-like in the grave of peace, and even UNO gasps and fumbles under the darkening shadow that overcasts the horizon. In these circumstances, what is wanted is a complete re-orientation of the outlook on life. Gandhiji's non-violence has the power of revolutionising modern man's diseased view of life. Gandhiji has converted an ethical creed into a dynamic and revolutionary faith, covering social, political, economic and ethical aspects of life and having immense possibility for re-orientation and re-

construction of life. Non-violence is a complete philosophy in itself. In its revolutionary aspect, it is a means of fighting oppression, inequality and injustice in any form, social, political or economic. In its constructive aspect, it represents a restoration and stabilisation of human values which, man, as a social creature, must always consider the most precious possession.

Non-violence is a means as well as an end, and proceeds upon an assumption of an innate reformability of man. By the examples of self-immolating sacrifice it rouses up the deeper forces of humanism which lie inert under the crushing weight of acquisitiveness and violent motives. It has experimentally been seen that non-violence has the power of irrigating the choked up humanism of man letting it freely flow, wash away the supergrowths of unsocial tendencies, and water and fertilise the seeming deserts of human mind. Acquisitiveness on individual and national scale, unwillingness to share the resources of the earth equally with other individuals or states has been said to be the stumbling block on the way to peace and the roots of social injustice. Dictatorship rises thus. To meet it with violence is useless. With violence it will be only temporarily crushed or not crushed at all, which is the lesson of history. Non-violent resistance, as Gandhiji said, can resurrect the spirit of man, mobilise it against war and violence, induce it to refuse to become man-killing machines and thus put a check to the iron dictator's war-machine. Man's fundamental feelings of humanism can be so mobilised as to make an invincible Maginot line against which the despot's wheel will dash in vain. But this non-violence can not be practised without a rigorous self-purification, the want of which makes it a failure. Speaking of Rome-Berlin Axis, Gandhiji had the courage to declare that the dictators felt satisfaction in defying world opinion which was vehemently against war, only because they knew that the Great Powers themselves who were citing gospels of justice, had their own hands soiled with injustice, inequality and violence. Similarly, he again said :

"Peace will never come until the Great Powers themselves courageously decide to disarm themselves."

In this way he visualised a non-violent revolution on a world scale, in which, violence shall not be kept down under threat of violence, but purged until it is entirely washed away by strict self-purification in respect of empire-lust and inequality.

History, as we see it, is a saga of violence. Its keynote is glorification of war. And those wars which history celebrates with so much ceremony, were, in a sense, wars of aggression and not at all of liberation, far less national wars. They are at bottom wars of imperialistic expansion masquerading as national and patriotic wars. Heroes, created by the distorted verdict, of history, thus appear and reappear on the stage, fight desperate battles for a pretended glory, but ultimately and actually cause total annihilation of human values by doing so. But in spite of the romantic glamour with which war has been invested, it must be said that history presents a bewildering panorama of guilt and retribution, in which every war,

even the most patriotic and holy, is a link in the chain of violence, which lengthens with every fresh war. In order to save the world from this vicious circle of wars and counter-wars, the very fundamental moral outlook of man has to be changed, which non-violence alone can do. People are naturally peace-loving and would not go to war unless wrought to extremes by skilful and planned propaganda of the so-called leaders of the State, who are economically and politically poles apart from, and callous and even inimical to, them. Those handful of leaders, to secure and perpetuate their own vested interests, incite the underdogs and lead them like cattle into the slaughtering scene to be fodder for guns. Russel tells us that the future society would be propaganda-planned. Can it not be expected that the masses can be welded into a non-violent society by large-scale propagation of ideas and living experiments in it?

Non-violence is a complete philosophy. Its roots lie deep in the hearts of men. In the Gandhian society it is a means as well as an end. It is a positive antidote to acquisitiveness, inequality and power-lust, the alleged causes of war. Production being in the hands of the workers, and direct and positive democracy being the structure of the society, chances of aggression are eliminated. Through this process, acquisitiveness and inequality will be liquidated. The results which a few isolated non-violent struggles may achieve, may be made permanent by this kind of society-planning. As an end, non-violence envisages this kind of society federating with one another into larger units, and thus preparing for a world fellowship of nations. As a means, it is the only one, for creating a society of wellbeing, by virtue of its negative character but positive effect, by its dynamism.

Non-violence is not an escape, neither is it a compromise. It has more than often demonstrated its dynamism,

unquelled by the torturing machine of the awful British Empire. It has also proved its power of evoking easy response in the heart of other people and also of converting even hardened men. Its dynamism being based on moral force it entails heavy responsibility upon the men who practise it. Says Aldous Huxley :

"Those who would use non-violence, must practise self-control, must learn moral as well as physical courage, must pit against anger and malice a steady goodwill and a patient determination to understand and sympathise."

This attitude underlying non-violence makes it so irresistible. As regards its dynamism, Rolland says :

"The Mahatma condemned violence. But his non-violence is more revolutionary than even violence."

Then again,

"No one in this world has shown greater aversion towards passivity than this indefatigable fighter (Gandhi), who represents one of the heroic types of resisters. The soul of this movement is resistance by means of inflamed energy of love, faith and sacrifice."

When Gandhiji himself said that every injustice in history has been got rid of through non-violence, he uttered a paradox. But it is also a great truth. Organised mass opinion has worked wonders in history. Democracy is an eloquent testimony to the power of mass opinion. Even in Fascist countries, the revolutionary voice of the masses is not ignored, and the blood-thirstiest of tyrants can not remain indifferent for a long time to this stern voice of Demos. Non-violence aims at the creation of this enlightened public opinion which will, by its own inner urge, defy any suggestion of violence. Having set out this great ideal before man through the Union of the Cross and the Eagle, Gandhiji has left the world, showing for the last time in his life, and most conclusively, the force and value of non-violence, which was his religion as well as politics.

GANDHIJI AMONG THE IMMORTALS

By CYRIL MODAK

Of all the tributes paid to Gandhiji, and many thousands have been paid during the last few days, the one which seems to sum up Gandhiji's international stature was paid by Dr. John Haynes Holmes :

"Gandhi is great among all the great of ages past. He is great with Alfred, Wallace, Washington, Kosciusko, Lafayette, as a nationalist leader. He is great with Clarkson, Wilberforce, Garrison, Lincoln, as an emancipator of the enslaved. He ranks with St. Francis, Thoreau, Tolstoy, as a teacher of what the Christian scriptures call 'non-resistance', and better the 'love that never faileth.' He holds his place with Lao-tse, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, as one of the supreme religious prophets of all time."

This tribute might sound extravagant at the first blush. But let us consider it calmly and intelligently. All the Nationalist leaders of the world, East and West, Alfred, Wallace, Washington, Kosciusko and Lafayette, were

perhaps the most daring and the most criticised. So was Gandhiji—most criticised and most daring of the Nationalist leaders during the twentieth century. For let it not be forgotten that from a loyal co-operator having won the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal in South Africa for his co-operative loyalty in establishing the Ambulance Corps during the Boer and later Zulu wars, he became the fearless non-co-operator who challenged the might of the mighty British Empire guarded with all the steel weapons of war and challenged this mighty Empire merely with a smile and a smiling determination.

Gandhiji as the "emancipator of the enslaved" is certainly equal to Clarkson, Wilberforce, Garrison, and Lincoln who was also shot by a white man because Lincoln championed the cause of the Blackman in America. Perhaps Wilberforce, the great champion of the liberation

of slaves, did not suffer the kicks and blows that Gandhiji suffered in South Africa.

It is absolutely true that Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, who in his famous Gettysburg address urged the American army to fight against the slave-driven South, saying "with malice towards none," had not all the painful experiences that Gandhiji had in South Africa. No one knows what the reactions of Wilberforce and Lincoln might have been if they have been subjected to the discrimination and the ill-treatment which fell to the lot of Gandhiji in White-riden area controlled by General Smuts. And yet it is the outstanding triumph of Gandhiji that General Smuts, perhaps the most iron-willed opponent of Gandhiji, should bow and say of Gandhiji that he was "a prince among men." We hope General Smuts will behave in a fashion so as to inspire India to pay him the same compliment when he is dead.

Saint Francis of Assisi proved himself to be a friend of birds and beasts and could not bear to think of any injury being done to any living thing. Gandhiji too was willing to let snakes go by him and scorpions climb on his knee while at prayer, but, could not think of harming them. If during the last three centuries any man has lived who in his life attained the peak of glory in the vales of everyday existence, and has proved that love never fails, it has been the Indian saint.

Saints are martyred. They are martyred because they are misunderstood. They are misunderstood because they live ahead of their times. They live ahead of their times because they are saints. Gandhiji lived a century ahead of his time and perhaps centuries and more centuries will find it difficult to keep up to the ideal of Gandhiji. He was a prophet. He was a prophet in an age when prophets were outmoded. He was a prophet of Non-violence and Truth, Love and Justice, in an age which was ruled by falsehood, injustice and the atom bomb. And yet his method succeeded in conquering injustice. His method won a glorious victory over violence just because he was willing to lay down his life with a smile and with folded hands to conquer violence. Violence spluttered in the sneezing of an automatic pistol, but Gandhiji's spirit rose above it and smiled.

He was an angel among demons. A demon may have put an end to the angel's life but that only proves that the angel will have the last word. The angel did have the last word. When he was shot, he was able to fold his hands in forgiving salutation and say: "He, Ram!"

What was the greatness of this great man? What was the source of this greatness which like a mighty sun outshone all the planets and which even in burning out seemed to give forth an effulgence which made suns and moons and stars pale into insignificance? The source of this greatness was a heroic spirit which persevered in the face of all opposition, which persevered against all odds and which knew no defeat—which knew no defeat even in the hour of death. It would be difficult to cite all the examples which go to prove the existence of this unusual spirit of heroic perseverance. A few examples may well be

cited and these are not intended to cast any slur on any community or race or people.

At the age of 24, in April 1893, Gandhiji reached India dressed in a frock-coat and a turban. This was typical enough of Gandhiji's attitude for more than a generation, for in spite of the ill-treatment he received at the hands of white people in South Africa he still felt that his turbaned head acknowledging the supremacy of the Indian community and Indian demands could be made subservient to a frock-coat or the demands of the British Empire. But he was not one of those who would submit to injustice. He was not one of those who would allow his fellowmen to be insulted without making a protest even though his protests cost him dearly. The detailed account of this period of Mahatma Gandhi's life would not serve the purpose to which his life was dedicated for it would merely stir up petty feelings between the whites and coloured peoples of the earth, and make the whites feel uncomfortable and the coloured people feel rebellious. Gandhiji was the last man on the face of the earth who would want to make any group feel uncomfortable or any group feel rebellious.

But Gandhiji forgot all the abuses hurled at him in South Africa, by European nations and by Europeans, all the brickbats and the rotten eggs, all the blows and kicks which almost finished him during 1897-98 when he was only 28 years of age. It was a unique coincidence that a woman saved his life at that time. It was the wife of the Superintendent of Police in Natal, Mrs. Alexander. Who could have imagined that 50 years later this man would be done to death by a bullet of an Indian, a Hindu assassin? And that another woman, Sushila Nayyar, who had been his personal physician for years, flying back from Amritsar to Delhi would clasp his feet and weep? Thousands of women wept. It only proves that he was able to make himself sexless and that men and women equally adored him and lived by his inspiration.

After several years and through many sufferings, Gandhiji succeeded in getting a certain amount of victory for the Indians in South Africa, but that was not the end of his battle. When he had won his victories in South Africa it was only the beginning of another battle in India, and Gandhiji came to India to take part in that battle as an ordinary volunteer to start with, as the great Father of the Nation to end with. Gokhale had taken a promise from Gandhiji that he would not enter into politics or make a statement on the political situation in India until he had studied the Indian problem for a year. Gandhiji agreed. He went around studying the Indian situation. It was in a letter dated February 18, 1915, that Rabindranath Tagore referred for the first time to Gandhiji as *Mahatma*. Gurudeva wrote:

"I hope that Mahatma and Mrs. Gandhi have arrived in Bhopore."

The next day the Mahatma and Kasturbai, his wife, were at Santiniketan and Gokhale was dead in Poona. And Gandhiji's battle for India's liberation had begun.

From thence he went to Hardwar for the *Kumbha Mela*. Even at Hardwar his African struggles were well-

known and people flocked in their thousands to have his *Darshan*. It was here that he decided to limit his diet and pledged while in India to take five items of clothing* and never to eat after dark. This was perhaps the influence of Jainism which was marked in his ancestral home. He went on to Rishikesh. At Rishikesh, a Sannyasi insisted that Gandhiji should wear *shikha* (tuft of hair) and the sacred thread. After a great deal of discussion Gandhiji agreed to keep the *shikha* (under protest!) but refused to wear the sacred thread, because countless Hindus (Harijans) did not have the privilege of wearing it.

This was perhaps the beginning of the opposition between Gandhiji and that group of orthodoxy which sent a fanatic to fire three shots at him.

It was not long after this that Gandhiji plunged into the political movement of India. His beginnings were in a small way. But these small beginnings like the beginnings of all new religions were pregnant with the seeds of growth and the growth threatened the established order of things.

Let us for a moment turn our glance to the beginnings of Christianity, for indeed Gandhiji was one of those privileged and unusual characters who in his life-time proved that the world of the spirit, the world of ideals, is more real than the world of flesh and blood and the devil. That is what 2,000 years ago, Jesus said to his own people, the Jews, when they surrounded him and demanded that he should be crucified as a criminal and the robber Barrabas should be released. The world has always seemed more partial to those who favour the doctrines of the *status quo* and has opposed the doctrines which threaten the *status quo*. But what is the *status quo*? And what is the status-to-be? In the days of the Roman empire the *status quo* was the condition of Roman well-being prompted by the ideology of the rulers that they were the measure of all things. Jesus challenged this *status quo* and was crucified by the jealous guardians of the *status quo*. In India Gandhiji, the great rebel, fought for many decades against evils of the British Empire and also the evils of Indian Society. The British Empire died a slow death. But all the evils of British rule are not dead. All the Rowlatt Acts and Black Acts and the policies of imperialism which dictated repressive measures are of the past. But the vicious effects of the vicious policy of divide and rule continue and fill men's hearts with hate and anger and make men do outrageous things against their own kith and kin, their own fellow citizens. Gandhiji fought valiantly against the evil forces of reaction as found in Imperialism, in the Muslim

League and in Hindu Society. And he shook the foundations of reaction. It was no easy battle. It was a stiff one. And Gandhiji's triumph lies in the fact that his ideals aroused the masses to join the fight and follow him. That is why fifteen hundred thousand people flocked to witness the burning of the mortal remains of him who in his frail body and with his weak voice defied evil and injustice.

Here and everywhere in this country and in every country, on this side and on the other, people say of him that he was not only the uncrowned King of India but in Shelleyan phrase "the unacknowledged legislator" of the universe of spirit. The sun itself seemed to be less bright and the elements seemed to rend their breezes to fan the flames of his mortal remains. The fact remains that his mortal remains are not only mortal but immortal, for the remains that we hold so precious are not those of flesh and blood or bone and skin but of those ideals of justice, truth and non-violence which he held dearer than life, and those ideals will goad his country and his countrymen and those ideals will, in spite of the stiffest opposition of reaction, continue through the ages to inspire men and women to join the relentless battle against injustice and wrong, against hatred and violence.

That is his triumph. That is why Indians will still cry "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai." For that is what it is. He is not dead. He is among the immortals.

And his unique victory is that it is not his own people who cry "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai," but it is the people who stoned him, it is the people who claimed that they were superior to the people for whose sake he laid down his life, who today are loudest in their praise for him. They are Muslims, Christians, South Africans, Europeans, Americans, Chinese, Japanese and a multitude which can hardly be named or recognized, which claims that Gandhiji was the great saviour of all distressed and down-trodden people. It is they who shout "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai," and that is his victory and that is India's victory because though India may be unworthy of having such a glorious son, that glorious son makes India worthy of the new sun-rise, the new dawn for which the world is looking forward. That new dawn across which might be written in letters of flaming gold the word "Non-violence" will bring us the sacred memory of that frail man who in his life-time preached the truth of non-violence and who taught our little world to strive for a glory not won by guns but by a smile.

Even in the hour of death he had a smile, a smile which three bullets could not quench. Three bullets cannot quench the smile of the sun-rise. That is why we feel today in India, in America and all over the world that bullets cannot quench the smile of the sun-rise of freedom, justice and brotherhood, peace, unity and progress.

*Dhoti (Pyjama, Pant or undercloth) — Bundi — Langot — Kurta and Chaddar.



FLORENCE : CITY OF THE SOUL*

By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

As the German guns thunder in the streets of Florence and the shells of Allied guns fall on the city, my mind goes back to the summer of 1939, two months before the drums of war beat once again in battle-scarred Europe. Then, I stepped out of the *Stazione Nouvelle* into the City, with ruck-sack slung on my shoulders and an attache-case in hand looking so much like the proverbial tramp with a chin overdue for a shave and my mind full of apprehension lest all my dreams of Florence might prove to be false. I enquired my way to *L'arno* which was only a stone's throw from the station and immediately all my fears vanished. Was not this the City of Dante and Beatrice, Marcus Aurelius, Leonardo Da Vinci and scores of all those who had striven to make the world a richer and happier place? How could I ever feel lost in this beautiful town, each stone of which was replete with the memory of some saint, some poet, some artist of immortal fame? Surely they would forgive a tramp for pushing his unshaven chin in this ancient city of art and letters. As I sat on the wall of the *L'arno* and gazed into its blue depths and looked across its expanse, a quiet and soothing mood descended on me, a feeling which one only experiences in places of natural setting and harmonious human dwellings. I wended my way back to the town through winding streets, very quiet on that summer morning and knocked at a *Pension* ("*Albergo*", by Mussolini's Orders) and a middle-aged lady admitted me into the house. "*Ono Lito*"†, I demanded and "*Lira*"?. She quoted a figure. "Oh no", I argued, "not that much". But she pretended not to understand and took my attache-case and installed me in a tolerable bed-sitting room. Well.

You can take a Baedeker in one hand and a camera in another and cover Florence in American style from end to end admiring an art treasure here and another there and then catch the next train out, or you can wander about aimlessly on cobbled streets and suddenly turn into a Plaza Signoria and find yourself on the steps of *Palazzo Vecchio* or *Loggia del Signora*. Or wander along the bank of *L'arno* until you come face to face with *Ponte Vecchio*, arching gracefully across the river and pause for a second to recall Holloway's immortal painting of the aquiline-nosed Dante standing by and looking with eager eyes, on the approaching Beatrice and her two companions. The very bricks of the pavement seem to be alive with that vision of Dante and you may even see the pigeons flutter at the approach of Beatrice. The *Ponte Vecchio* has often roused your curiosity. When you climb it you are surprised to find a shopping centre rather than romantic residential cottages. You pass on to *Palaz Pitti* and discover and admire.

If you find yourself in *Piazza Signoria* in front of *Palaz Vecchio* and that colossal statue of David by Michael Angelo, keep your eyes on the ground, for it contains a precious disc which records the martyrdom of Savonarola,

that fiery youthful priest who had dared to raise his head against the corruption and vice of Florentine clergy and aristocracy. Something of his fire still burns in that cobbled squire, and maybe, his curse still hangs like doom in this town of saints and martyrs, poets and artists, rulers and merchants. Call to yourself the picture of Savonarola with burning eyes, facing a hostile crowd anxious only for his blood. Was it worthwhile, he might have asked himself, but it was too late to retreat. They will have his blood and nothing else. And so he climbed the stakes, consigned himself to the flames, jeered and mocked by the crowd, with no friendly face to shed a tear over him. Oh yes, the Florentines like their Roman and Pompeian predecessors and contemporaries of European towns enjoyed the sport of human sacrifice to beasts as much as a religious procession or mass in the Church. Perhaps the crowd psychology in the civilised countries is not much different to-day. Not quite far away is Dante's home, a low door leads into this ancient house, with a few of his personal belongings still preserved. But this was no home for Dante, for he had been exiled by the pitiless rulers of the rival faction and Dante ended his life far from his own native town. But Florence never bore a truer son and Dante thought again and again of his beloved town and of one who became his guiding star and led him through that journey in Celestial Sphere, in *Divine Comedy*. Enter *Palazzo Vecchio* and see the palace of the Medicis, the merchant princes of Florence who ruled during the Renaissance and gathered around them a galaxy of artists and poets and philosophers. Look at those gorgeous paintings, particularly of Boccaccio's Venus rising from the Sea in the ceiling of an upper chamber. The works of Giotto, Leonardo Da Vinci, Benevento Cellini, Michael Angelo and scores of others of great or less renown. These are the men whose works have adorned the halls not only of Florence but of the museums, art galleries, palaces and churches of European cities which boast of culture, though not all acquired by fair means. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when Italy became the battlefield of the warring empires of Europe, the conquerors plundered some of these art treasures and bore them away. History has repeated itself and once again Florence has been robbed by its Nazi masters, to an unascertainable extent. The walls of *Palazzo Vecchio* if they remain intact, will bear witness to that. But I am forgetting, you are in 1939 in *Palaz Vecchio*. Look at its spacious halls, its embattled walls, and think of the great struggles that went on within and without this palace. The Borgias, Uffizis, the Medicis, the Pittis, their eternal feuds and rivalries for the mastery of Florence, mark *Palazzo Vecchio* not merely as a receptacle of best Italian art but also the best part of Florentine history. Florence was then the centre of a cultural empire, as also for a brief spell the capital of entire Italia and had disputed the claim with the Eternal City. Florentine warriors had marched out to battle and not only subdued the Tuscan country but stormed the gates of Rome itself. Ah! that was a proud

* Written on the eve of German invasion, Summer, 1944.

† "*Ono Lito*" i.e., "*One Bed*."

moment for Florence. Florence lording it over Rome itself.

But Florence is not a mere town of ancient memory of ghosts or dead history. Of an evening you take a seat in the spacious *Piaz Vittorio Emanuel* and hear good Italian music and drink vermouth watching and being watched by crowds of Italians and a good sprinkling of foreigners. There is the lady with the violin, another singing a solo which may send you into rapture. If you feel being more active, walk to L'arnos' bank and enter Grotto Bianco and under its shifting lights, dance a waltz or tango, to the accompaniment of a song, or sit down at a table and sip your vermouth and watch the gay and youthful couples sweep the floor with L'arno sweeping by, and the stars shining overhead.

Has Europe a prettier picture to show than that of fair *Firenze* as seen from the heights of St. Croce and monument of Michael Angelo? From here you see Florence stretch before you, the finely proportioned Duomo and the tall Campanile, the Crown and Sceptre of this noble city, with L'arno winding its silvery way, bridged by innumerable *Pontes*,* and all set like a gem in a picture of lovely hills and valleys, the heart of Tuscany. A fine breeze is stirring and you stretch your tired limbs in the shadow of the statue of David (replica of the one in Piazza Signoria) and wish for no better resting place.

If you are lucky you will find yourself in Florence during some Florentine festival and come across a procession of priests and laity in flowing sacred robes and gorgeous colours, bearing the image of Madonna to the Florence Cathedral with music playing and banners flying, almost a pageant from the sixteenth century. If you

* i.e., Bridges.

are unlucky, as I was in that summer of 1939, the jarring Fascist Anthem is repeatedly drummed, ding-dong into your ears, until you feel like crying, "Stop this sacrilege. It sounds alien in Florence." The Florentines think likewise and give the Fascist players a wide berth, unlike the crowds in Rome.

There are other beauties of this place which you will find out as you roam from one end to another. A small fort on a hillock overlooking a park, where the children are playing, is a place where peace reigns supreme and the sounds of children add to it rather than disturb the quiet. There are its cafes where the best coffee in Europe is served, and its art products, paintings on shells, cigarette boxes, images, a thousand souvenirs that the tourist may carry away, miniature portraits of saints, angels and churches, replicas of Giotto and Michael Angelo executed beautifully on a number of things.

On Florence, how I wish (and who would not?) that the fury of warring nations had spared you the horrors of the battlefield and that the Nazi marauders had respected your venerable halls and ancient streets and left you in peace! How shall I even approach your gates and see your battered walls, plundered palaces, defaced churches and streets covered with shrapnel and debris and perhaps corpses rotting in the streets. But mercifully in that summer of 1939, I could not foresee this fate in store for you. It was with great regret that I parted with you, Florence. But even as I entered the train I knew that I had left my heart behind. I felt then, as I wish I could now, that if I were asked to name one place in the world where I should gladly spend my life, I should name you *Firenze*—City of the Soul.

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INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF JOURNALISTS

By NRIPEN GHOSH

THE International Organisation of Journalists was created at the International Congress of Journalists at Copenhagen in June 1946, with twenty-one countries participating. Aims and objects of the IOJ were laid down as follows: (a) Protection by all means of all liberty of the press and of journalism. (b) Promotion of international friendship and understanding through free interchange of information. (c) The promotion of trade unionism amongst journalists. The organisation is composed of national organisations of working journalists organised on trade union basis. Only one organisation for each country shall be eligible to affiliate to it.

The second world congress was held in Prague—June 3 to 7—last year with the delegates from fifty-three countries. The Indian Journalists' Association of Great Britain deputed the author to observe and report.

From Prague, I wrote several letters to contact the scattered journalists' organisations in India. Unfortunately, I have not received any reply as yet.

India's 300 dailies and 70 weeklies (app.) have at least 5,000 sub-editors, reporters, correspondents, foreign correspondents, cartoonists, photographers whose duties are innumerable and rights non-existent though their contri-

bution towards national liberation is almost equal to that of other sections of the population. An English poet rightly called them "the slaves of the lamp and servants of the light." It is for these slaves that my article is intended.

Nearly ten years ago, Mr. Joseph Pothan spoke very bitterly about the condition of Indian journalists at the Lahore conference of the same. After that nothing was heard, nor any step was taken to develop trade unionism among them. I should say, in these days of organisation and method of organisation professionals have only themselves to blame.

It is interesting to know that the journalist unions of Europe, and America have made surprising progress. In all these countries their interests are protected by the State. In Czechoslovakia, the scale of pay is fixed according to the grade of paper and years of service of journalists. I attach herewith a schedule of the weekly wages in Britain as agreed upon between the newspaper owners and the National Union of Journalists. Besides, the NUJ has unemployment benefit and also provides to some extent for the widows and orphans of the deceased journalists. It has also published a Press Album proceeds of which go to those orphans. Surprisingly enough these conditions not only



Mr. Masaryk, Czech Foreign Minister, opening the Congress
(standing) and Mr. Kenyon presiding (sitting)



India and Iran sitting behind France



India behind France



Bald-headed, bespectacled David Zaslavsky, Editor, *Pravda*,
sitting next to a girl

Courtesy : Czech Ministry of Information

LIFE IN AN AMERICAN SCHOOL

SEVEN million students, ranging in ages from 14 to 18 years, attend public schools throughout the United States. Some of the students are preparing for college. Others are taking general or vocational courses to fit them for business or home careers. The high school, secondary school of the American free public school system, attempts to develop particular talents, using a variety of educational methods from the usual classroom textbook lecture to field expeditions and moving picture and radio lessons.



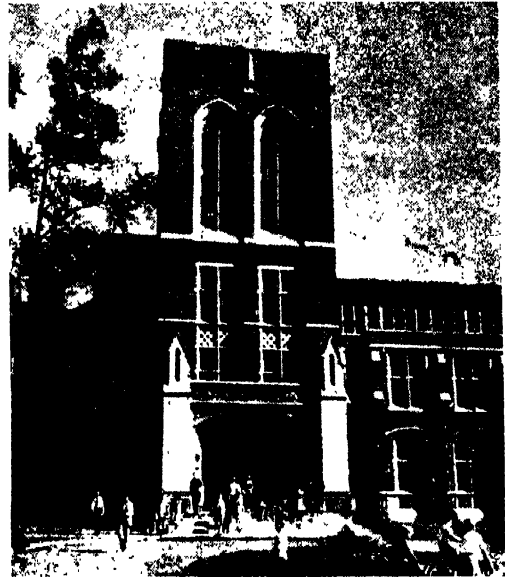
Students in a class of the Scarsdale High School

Typical of U. S. high school boys is 17-year-old Isaac Mitton Stewart, Jr., known as Ike to his fellow-seniors at the Scarsdale High School in Scarsdale, New York, a residential community, 25 miles from New York City. Ike, who attains better-than-average ratings in his studies, hopes to make scientific agriculture his career and after graduation plans to attend the New York State School of Agriculture at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Since childhood, Ike has spent his summer vacations on a ranch in western United States where he has driven tractors, "cow punched," dug post holes and helped brand cattle.

As a senior, his scholastic program is lighter than that required in other terms, as the school authorities prefer to give seniors ample time to concentrate on special studies to fit them for college or vocational work. Ike attends for 45-minute classes daily and does homework or reads in the school library during study periods. He

Scarsdale High School offers its students much the same program that the country's other 25,600 high

is a member of a school's student government organization, and the school's social planning board, which arranges guest lectures, musicals, dances and other social activities. Most of the school's social activities are planned and directed by the students, with faculty members acting as advisers. He also is a member of the Rifle Club and a star performer on the track team. The school's 24-acre campus includes a baseball diamond, a football field, two hockey fields, and a quarter-mile track.



The main entrance to the Scarsdale High School

schools offer their students. The school has 65 faculty members who teach a wide variety of subjects including mathematics, history, science, literature, and classical and modern languages. For students who plan a business career, the school's commercial course offers elementary business, business law, economics, book-keeping, stenography and typing. An industrial arts course provides instruction in mechanical drawing, gas engines operation and the uses of wood and metals.

Many of the girl students enroll in the home economics course, which includes clothing, food, nutrition, textile and child-care classes, or the arts course which teaches representation and commercial fashion and stage design.

The Scarsdale High School serves an area of six square miles and the registration of 1,200 is divided evenly between students of junior (7 and 8) and the senior level (grades 9 through 12).—USIS



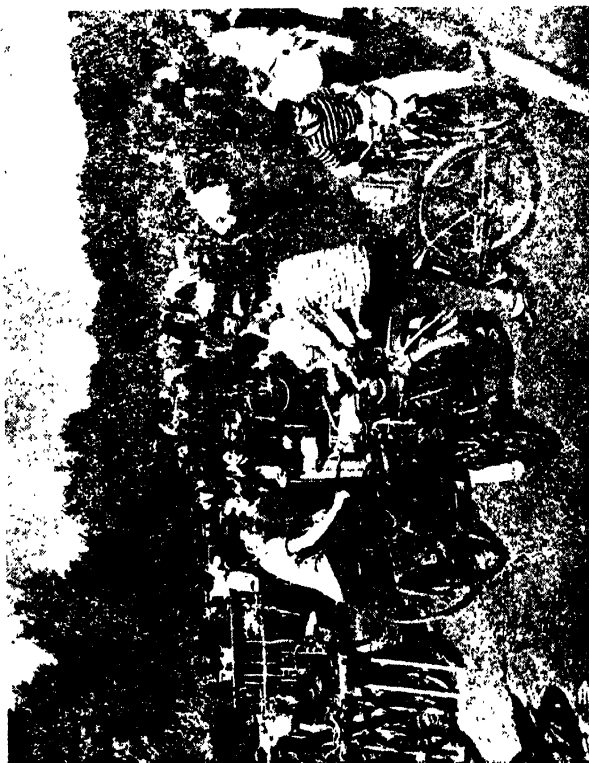
Ike Stewart (right) and a classmate conduct an experiment in a physics laboratory



A student forum on current events is a feature of the course in American History at Scarsdale High School



Ike Stewart (second from left) in a practice dash on the cinder track which is part of the school's athletic field



Some school students, including Ike Stewart (wearing striped shirt), ride their bicycles to school, parking them in an enclosure near the main building

ANANDA MOHUN BOSE ON THE FUTURE OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

By JOGESHI C. BAGAL

ANANDA MOHUN BOSE accompanied Keshub Chunder Sen, the Brahmo Leader, to England, in early 1870 and entered Cambridge University for higher studies. While there, he was connected with all the movements for the welfare of his country and countrymen. In 1872, an address was presented to Henry Fawcett, a member of Parliament, for his services to India at a meeting held at Brighton on behalf of the Indian people. Ananda Mohun Bose attended the meeting, and after the presentation of the address, made a forcible speech. In this speech he not only criticised the British Indian administration but also pointed to the fact that if the mal-administration continued for some time, British connection with India might be at stake. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 13th March, 1873, then an Anglo-Bengali weekly, referred to the speech in its English columns and also quoted the opinion of Mr. White, another M.P., as follows :

The Brighton Meeting: Mr. Bose who is no other than our dear friend Babu Ananda Mohan Bose, made a brilliant speech of which another Mr. White, M.P., said, "Never in his life had he listened to a more eloquent description of the wrongs of India. Cognizant as he was with the highest flights of oratory, with the greatest efforts of genius in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, he was truly struck with the wonderful eloquence, the thorough power of language, the admirable description and grasp of the subject and the nobleness of intellect displayed by Mr. Bose."

I have recently found this speech in its indirect narration in one of the Books of Cuttings from newspapers of Romesh Chunder Dutt preserved in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Library. Here is that speech :

"Mr. A. M. Bose, an Hindoo Under-graduate at Cambridge, also supported the address. He said it was with great diffidence that he rose to address so largely attended and so influential a meeting. But he was encouraged by the hope that they would grant him an indulgent ear, and this enabled him to comply with a request to appear before them. (Applause.) He felt it a sort of duty to come forward on this occasion and to show by actual presence the importance of a meeting of this character. When he first received an intimation of the meeting, two days ago, he was regretful lest he could not be present; but he had now the pleasure in attending on behalf of a vast country and giving a little life, and blood, and flesh beyond the parchment which had been read to them. (Cheers.) He looked upon the meeting as one of very great importance indeed (Hear, Hear.) He trusted that in future the people of England and the people of India will sympathise more fully with, and will enter more deeply into the feelings of each other. (Cheers.)

They know that sympathy makes the whole world kin, and that the bonds of justice join the whole world together. Sympathy and justice were things which India require, and these were points which he was sure they and he could not loth to grant. (Hear, Hear.) He wondered if any present ever thought of the fact that England entered India in the capacity of traders and had ended by becoming supreme rulers. At a time when the great writers and states-



Ananda Mohun Bose in England, 1872

men in this country were crying out against the ambition of aggression of the first Napoleon, England was carrying on its conquests and its acquisition of territory with perhaps even less excuse than Napoleon himself. (Hear, Hear.) He did not mention this in the way of reproach; but merely to show to England more fully the extent of her obligation and the obvious duty devolving upon her to pay attention to the interests of the great empire of India. (Applause.) He assured them most solemnly that the welfare of the two countries was bound together; and that their interests were so directly connected that one country could not suffer without serious loss being inflicted upon the other. The relations between the two countries should be placed on a satisfactory footing. If India were to be a source of strength and not of weakness to England, then it followed that the British

nation must take means to regulate the dealings of natives. (Loud applause.) He did not think there had ever been a parallel case to that of British rule in India. It was a solemn charge; and, if England could discharge it properly, she would have set one of the most glorious examples that had ever been witnessed. (Loud Applause.) In order that this might be the case, it was the imperative duty of constituencies to stir their representatives in Parliament to take a greater interest in the affairs of India. If this meeting was not the most interesting, in its present relations, that had ever taken place within the walls of that building, it was certainly so when looking to its future consequences. (Loud Applause.) Although England had had reform after reform, it seemed to be thought that India required no looking after and no reform. He hoped a different impression would be left on the minds of those present when leaving the room that evening. Was it not right that two hundred millions of their fellow subjects should claim some attention, and the affairs of a vast country like India should occupy some consideration? It was not enough that England should be a free country; it would be still more glorious if she could impart this freedom to others. (Loud Applause.) Remembering the services rendered by the British public a generation ago to do away with physical slavery, surely it would not be less glorious to abolish the political slavery which practically exists in India? (Loud Applause.) Apathy in this respect had only too deeply reflected on Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Noticing some of the arguments used to justify the want of attention to Indian affairs, he said it was stated that Parliament had not time to think about the vast concerns of India. But he could scarcely believe this to be so. It might be the case when there was a trivial and irrelevant discussion upon matters of detail; but the general principles, the cardinal doctrines, and the main policy throughout regulating the relations between the two countries must justify and fairly claim the attention of Parliament for a few evenings in the course of the session. (Applause.) Another argument was, that members, knowing nothing about India, should not interfere with the doings of those on the spot. Now, he fully admitted that the argument would be unanswerable, but for what had been done by members of Parliament who had not been to India; and he failed to see why they could not be made even better acquainted with the affairs of India. (Hear, hear.) To support what he said, he had but to point to the example of two members of the British Parliament, whose labours in connection with India were most gratefully recorded in the hearts of the Indian people—he alluded to Mr. John Bright, Brighton's own able representative Mr. Fawcett. (Applause.) He was not aware that either of these gentlemen ever went to India or that they had, by such a visit, distracted that time and attention which they properly owed to their constituents or to other

important matters affecting home legislature. (Hear, hear.) The two names would alone be a sufficient refutation of anything of this kind. (Applause.) He believed the two gentlemen he had mentioned had as fully and as ably and as efficiently performed their duties as had any of the 600 members of the House of Commons. (Loud Applause.)

He (Mr. Bose) did not think this either the time or the place to go over the grievances of India. That was a tale which would take many hours in reciting; and he did not consider a matter for discussion at the present meeting. While passing them over, he might be allowed to make a brief allusion to one or two matters. Perhaps they might know that all the public offices of any importance in India,—host of honours and pecuniary benefit,—were monopolised by Europeans. In order that the natives might have the surest chance of getting into one of these offices, he had to come to England to undergo an examination. Now, what would they think of matters if an Englishman had to go to a foreign country before he was given the least chance of getting into the civil service of his own country. (Applause and hear, hear.) Did they think this would be justice or a following out of the golden rule of doing to others as they would wish that others should do to them. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Such a thing would not for a moment stand in the light of fairness or of reasons. He would not, however, dwell upon this; but he would speak for a few moments upon another point—that of the representation of India. A noble lord—the Marquis of Salisbury—had said that he should regard it as a great misfortune if a representative form of Government were resorted to in India. (Ironical laughter, and a Voice: He is a fool, he is.—Renewed laughter.) The Marquis of Salisbury had a right to his opinion on the representation of India to try his best to prevent the people of that country from having inflicted upon them the representative form of government which some of their English friends would like to give them. (Laughter.) It seemed to him (Mr. Bose), however, that England ought to be the last to support such a proposition. (Applause.) He stood before them to confess that no real amelioration of the condition or progress of a nation can take place without the people having some share in the government of the country, without the adoption of some regular system by which their wants may be made known and their wrongs brought under notice. (Applause.) Of course, he did not mean that a representative form of government, as it exists in England should at once be imported into India. This would really be a foolish proposition to make. But let them remember that the government England now had was not the growth of a single day, that even within the last forty years, by two reform bills, it had undergone great changes indeed. (Applause.) He (Mr. Bose) believed a great deal in this country; but he did not believe that the people of England were

metamorphosed into perfect beings on emigrating to India, while they were wanting in manners and—as a rule—as ignorant of everything as can be almost imagined. (Hear, hear.) There was, perhaps, an impression that the Indian mind was altogether unfitted for anything like representative government, that such Government had its growth in European countries and was not likely to fit or take root in India. But they had now in India many things which they never had before. Formerly they did not have railways, yet they never now objected to travel by them; and so it would be if representative government were given the country.

Without wishing to speak of the grievances of India, his object was to draw attention to the necessity of giving greater consideration to matters concerning that country; and this was a point directly connected with the address before the meeting. He was desirous to show that, on the higher grounds of morality, it was the duty of England to think of India and to consider how her affairs could be best managed. He would, however, say a few words to show that it was not simply on this higher ground but on the lower ground of self-interest that his advice should be followed because some would think that this was the practical view of the question. (Hear, hear.) He believed there was great truth in the remark of Oliver Goldsmith that “We first act and when too late, begin to think” (Hear, hear.) He hoped the time has passed when this remark applied to English history; and that England would now begin to think of its duties to the future and not alone of the requirements of the present. (Applause.) He believed there was a hundred thousand Englishmen who every year derived their living directly from India—a living of a character which he thought it would be impossible to get from any other part of the world. This alone, we would think, was an interest sufficiently large to induce the people to look to India. (Hear, hear.) Besides this, there were large numbers,—he could not tell them how many hundreds of thousands,—whose interest and welfare depended upon the social and political well-being of that vast country. (Applause.) India also “boasted” of a national debt, and in this debt Englishmen were directly and deeply interested; for, depend upon it, England and Englishmen would have to bear part of any loss that might accrue for want of proper management in the political government of the country. (Hear, hear.) Serious as it might be to the interests of England, another Ireland might be experienced in India, only that India would be many times more dangerous and vastly more troublesome owing to its distance and its size, India might not

remain for ever, as it was today, disunited; but, even if it did, that statesmanship was blind and fatal which relied not on the justice of its policy, but on the weakness of its victims. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.) A nation, in order to be recognised as of importance, must depend on its own efforts. There was no trait in the British character which he admired more than the self-reliance and manly energy displayed by the English people. As soon as the people felt any grievance they immediately began to agitate, and the matter was sure to be taken up by the nation and the grievance in time redressed. (Applause.) But there was a very radical and essential difference between the state of things in England and in India. In India there was no such means of redressing a grievance; although the principle of agitation had already begun to take root in that country. The future character of India will depend on English statesmen—whether they would undertake to sympathise with the people and take the pains to regulate and direct them. (Applause.) He would conclude by a reference to the reported movement of Russia in Central Asia. There was no other means by which England could fortify so strongly against the Russians as by entrencing herself, not behind outward fortification, but in the hearts of the people of India. (Loud applause.) If England could do this, then she could fortify against a hundred times the extent of any force which Russia might bring against them. (Applause.) The feeling of a country towards those who might happen to be its rulers depended, not so much on the acquisition of power in the past, as upon the manner in which those rulers administer and discharge their duties; and he could see no reason why India should not form as integral a part of this country as did Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. (Loud applause.) The speaker concluded by expressing his special obligations to Professor Fawcett for the interest he had taken in India's cause, and to the meeting for the patient hearing accorded him.

NOTE.—The photograph of Ananda Mohun Bose, reproduced here, is supposed to have been taken in 1872. Ananda Mohun always stuck to his national, or rather Indian costume. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* with which he was closely associated, remarked in its issue of June 13, 1870, on receipt of a photograph from him, as follows :

“Ananda Mohun Bose has sent his friends at *Amrita Bazar* a photograph of his from England. We have seen this photograph. Ananda Mohun has recovered a great deal during his sojourn in England. Though his dress does not consist of *dhoti*, *chadar* and *piran*, still he has not put on European costume. Our heart is filled with hope when we take note of the costume he has chosen to wear.”

U. S. LABORATORY COMBATS TYPHUS AND SPOTTED FEVER

MORE than 100 men and women in the Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever Laboratory at Hamilton, Montana, in the north-western United States, are producing vaccines that are combating typhus and yellow fever in all parts of the world. The laboratory is a branch of the National Institute of Health, research unit of the U. S. Pacific Health Service, and is an outgrowth of early investigations into the disease known as Rocky Mountain spotted fever. In 1941, the laboratory developed a specific cure for the virulent fever from which it takes its name.



A chemist inspects yellow fever vaccine during the desiccation period

Under the direction of Dr. Ralph R. Parker, one of the U.S. pioneers in spotted fever research, the laboratory helped to supply the vast amounts of vaccines used by United Nations armed forces.

Probably more than any other single individual, Dr. Howard Taylor Ricketts laid the groundwork for the laboratory's valuable contribution to medicine.

Rocky Mountain spotted fever in many ways resembles typhus. Its symptoms include chills, fever, headaches, and pains in the joints and muscles. Skin eruptions, which give the disease its name, appear about the third day of the fever.

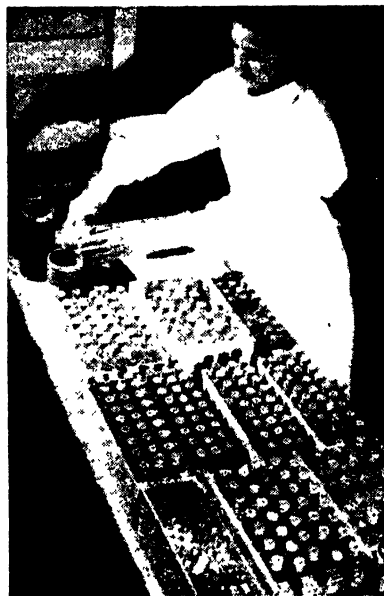
For many years the fever was a disease of mystery. Then, in 1906, because of ill health, Dr. Ricketts went to Bitter Root Valley in Montana for a vacation. He became interested in the baffling ailment. Embarking upon a series of experiments with guinea pigs and monkeys, he finally discovered that Rocky Mountain spotted fever infects humans through the bite of virus-carrying ticks.

BACILLUS IDENTIFIED

Ricketts isolated a rod-shaped microbe in infected human blood that appeared also in ticks and tick eggs—the "x" of Rocky Mountain spotted fever. Then Ricketts turned his attention to typhus. He found that typhus and

spotted fever have many characteristics in common, including the rod-shaped bacillus. In 1910, Ricketts contracted typhus in Mexico and died. His name and that of another research victim of typhus, Poland's Stanislas von Prowazek, have been given to the rod-shaped microbe of typhus, spotted fever, and related diseases—"rickettsiae-prowazeki," frequently called "rickettsia."

Two other research workers played an important part in the Montana studies: Dr. Roscoe Roy Spencer and Dr. Ralph R. Parker.



A worker packs typhus vaccine for shipment

Spencer developed a method of building accumulations of the deadly virus in the ticks under laboratory conditions, and found that there was a sufficient concentration of infection in one of them to kill 3,000 guinea pigs.

Spencer and Parker decided to use these laboratory-infected ticks as the basis of a vaccine. They mashed infected ticks, covered them with a weak solution of carbolic acid, and injected them into guinea pigs, all of which thereupon became immune to spotted fever. On May 19, 1924, Spencer inoculated himself to prove the effectiveness of the vaccine on humans; later the vaccine was made available to others. Immunity in humans is not total. The vaccine is effective for approximately a season, and does not in all cases ward off spotted fever. But where it does not completely prevent infection, it materially lessens the violence of the disease. Parker was made director of the Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever Laboratory in 1928 and in 1931, the laboratory became a part of the National Institute of Health. At present it is devoted almost entirely to research in the rickettsial diseases—those caused by the rod-shaped microbes discovered by Ricketts—and to production of vaccines. Included in its studies are spotted fever, epidemic typhus, endemic typhus, tsutsugamushi fever of Japan,



The Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever Laboratory at Hamilton, Montana, in the north-western United States



Dr. Ralph Parker (at right), director of the Rocky Mountain Laboratory, and Dr. C. G. Punlin, director of the King Institute of Preventive Medicine at Madras



Dr. Herrald R. Cox, who developed the method of producing typhus vaccine from infected eggs, examines bacteria cultures at the Rocky Mountain Laboratory



These workers harvest embryonic membranes from eggs infected with louse-borne typhus for the manufacture of vaccine to combat typhus

trench fever, deer-fly fever, and the "Q" fever of Australia.

The vaccine developed by Spencer and Parker has been produced in ever-increasing quantities. In 1925, it cost \$20 to manufacture a single dose. By 1940, the laboratory was producing enough of the vaccine annually to inoculate 130,000 persons at a cost of 75 cents a dose.

Dr. Herrald Cox, one of the research workers at the laboratory, was directly responsible for the increased low-cost production. He infected fertile chicken eggs with rickettsia and found that it was possible to produce vaccines in larger quantities, faster, and at less expense than previously. The infected egg yolks were dried and the still active microbes killed with carbolic acid and formalin. A single egg yolk provided as many as 20 doses of vaccine.

In 1938, the laboratory began to develop typhus vaccines by the egg yolk method. The following year small experimental quantities were shipped to various European countries, and today large amounts go to the United States and its United Nations Allies.

Up to 1941, there was still no specific cure for Rocky Mountain spotted fever, though the vaccine was effective as a preventive. But in that year Dr. Norman Topping succeeded in preparing a successful serum at the laboratory from the blood of hyper-immunized rabbits. He

acquired a laboratory infection of spotted fever and cured himself with his new serum. Today it is widely used in treatment of the disease. In 1943, Topping was given the Bailey K. Ashford Award of the American Society of Tropical Medicine for his achievement.



The body louse is the carrier
of the dread typhus fever

The whole history of the Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever Laboratory has not yet been written. Day by day its workers seek answers to unsolved questions, slowly adding to the growing store of human knowledge.—USIS.

—O:—

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. CHANDRA KIRAN SONREXA has been awarded the *Seksaria Prize* of Hindi Literature by the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan for her contributions to Hindi fiction. One of the topmost of living Hindi short-story writers, Shrimati Sonrexa is Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Hindi Progressive Writers

Association and member of the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha and the P. E. N. Club. Some of her best stories have been translated into English and several Indian languages. She was also a member of the Writers Goodwill Delegation to Kashmir which visited the raided territories at the special invitation of Sher-i-Kashmir Sheikh Abdulla.

MISS KOWTA YASODA DEVI, M.A., M. Litt. has been awarded a doctorate, D.LITT., by the Madras University for her thesis, *The Andhras: 1000 A.D.-1500 A.D.* She is the first Andhra lady to achieve this distinction.



Mrs. Chandra Kiran Sonrexa



Miss Kowta Yasoda Devi

DOMINION STATUS FOR CEYLON

By J. BHAR

ANOTHER pro-British fanfare was whipped up and a chorus of encomium sung when Ceylon attained her "independence" on February 4, as provided for under the Ceylonese Independence Act. But the British claim that Attlee's Socialist Cabinet is determined to liquidate imperialism has to be taken with a large dose of salt only. It is all to the good that the British Government lost no time in recognising the fact that World War II had drastically altered the age-old relations between the Ruler and the Ruled, and the tremendous change that followed in the wake of that cataclysm in Britain's Colonial Policy, far from being testimony to its love of progress, was more or less compelled by the refusal of its colonies and dependencies to reconcile themselves to their state of political bondage any longer. Grant of "independence" to Ceylon, therefore, should not have been made into an occasion for praising Britain's progressive post-war policy towards her colonies and dependencies. Those that have obtained the rights for self-government, have got them as their birth right.

SELF-LIQUIDATION OF IMPERIALISM

But Britain's voluntary surrender of her empire already experimented upon in India, Burma, and Ceylon has not been altogether unconditional. Burma attained a sovereign independent status. But even so she had to conclude a treaty with Britain which provides for certain defence and financial arrangements between the two. Nobody could be sure to what extent Burma will be able to exercise her own choice in case of a future war which already exists potentially as "a cold war of nerves" between Soviet Communism and Anglo-American Democracy.

In our own case we have been given the right to decide whether or not we shall continue as a member of the Commonwealth. By providing for division of India and independence for the Princes, the British sought to catch us trapping by a sinister device. But India can go one better than Britain in diplomacy. The land of Chanakya (Kautilya) will never lack talent in that direction. Our States Department has already done good work by prevailing upon the Ruling Princes to see that independence can reduce them to so many emigre monarchs ousted by their own people. There is also little chance for the Anglo-Americans to hook us in as their partners in the game of power politics. The essence of our foreign policy, as enunciated by Pandit Nehru, is non-appeasement and non-aggression towards both contending sides, Russia and the Anglo-Americans.

NEED FOR CAUTIOUS ESTIMATE

But Ceylon's case is far less encouraging. Her "independence" is equivalent to Dominion Status with no

freedom to opt out of the Commonwealth. Also, it is hedged in on all sides by Anglo-Ceylonese pacts relating to Defence, External Affairs and certain other matters, that do not make a happy augury for the future of her Self-Government miscalled "Independence." Another significant fact of recent Ceylonese history, is that already there is a complete disagreement between the Right and the Left in the island on the Anglo-Ceylonese settlement arrived at and implemented. Also Ceylon's present top-ranking politicians kept their people in the dark, and carried on negotiations with the British in a queer clandestine fashion. If the ideal aimed at was Democracy, why should there have been any need to do things surreptitiously. There is indeed close similarity between Ceylon and Malaya in this respect. The Party called UMNO and the Sultans of Malaya States combined in an unholy alliance to carry on secret negotiations with the British to throw overboard the previous Union Proposals and replace it by a new plan for a Federation of Malaya which has raised such a storm of protest from the Chinese and Malayan Leftist organisations.

Nevertheless "Independence" whatever the brand may be, is an occasion for rejoicing. The writer has no intention to discourage the Ceylonese leaders who have taken over the reins of administration from their previous ruler. Dominion Status, whatever its shortcomings, is undoubtedly a good thing to start with. And Ceylon, given proper lead and direction by her leaders, may surely hope to march from strength to strength and finally reach the cherished goal of complete independence even. But in the midst of her present exuberations, she will do well to exercise a certain amount of caution in her relations with the outgoing party. On the entire vast tract of what used to be British Empire a short while ago, the mellow glow of twilight is now descending. But the sooner it is made to sink into the mist of memory, the better. For, the lurid grandeur of twilight often tends to persist a little too obdurately.

REFORMS REVIEWED

Ceylon certainly does not attain her status of a Dominion overnight and as a result of Britain's policy of voluntary liquidation of imperialism. There is plenty of political awakening in the island today which can be traced back to a much earlier period.

Way back in 1795 an expedition sent out by the British from Madras occupied Ceylon. It became a British colony when by the Treaty of Amiens the British were allowed to retain the island. Between 1798 and 1802, the control of the island was divided between the Crown and the East India Company. But in 1802, the Company was divested of its responsibility and Ceylon became a Crown colony. The last king of Kandy, Wickrama Rajasinha

(1798-1815) waged a bitter war against the British, but the British Governor Sir Robert Brownrigg put down his patriotic struggle and Kandy fell into British hands in 1815. Ceylon's administrative separation from India was effected in 1902.

For nearly 30 years the British Governor with an Advisory Council had been exercising absolute executive and legislative power, till in 1833, the first step was taken to provide an opportunity for ascertaining the desires of the people by setting up a Legislative Council of European and Sinhalese members nominated by the Governor. It is claimed by the spokesmen of the British that all through the long period of their stay in Ceylon they were preparing the people of the island for democratic self-government, such as the recent Ceylonese Independence Act provides. The first Legislative Council composed of elected members came into being in Ceylon in 1931 under the Reforms proposed by the Donoughmore Commission.

THE SOULBURY COMMISSION AND AFTER

During the thirties of this century Ceylon's national awakening had received a tremendous impetus from the events in neighbouring countries, especially India. But the British could do but little to meet Ceylon's patriotic demands. It was only after the conclusion of World War II that some substantial efforts were made by Britain to satisfy Ceylon's national aspirations. The Soulbury Commission appointed to consider the island's administrative reforms, made certain recommendations which were accepted by the British Government as the basis of the White Paper issued in October, 1945. The Ceylon State Council accepted these Proposals for Reforms. In May, 1946, a new Constitution was enacted based on the White Paper of the previous year. It provided for a Legislature and a Responsible Government. According to British officials, "It marked an important step forward, making Ceylon the first colony with a predominantly non-European population to approach Dominion Status." Under the Soulbury Reforms Ceylon's State Council was replaced by two chambers, the Senate and the House of Representatives. Provision was also made for a Cabinet of Ministers with responsibility to the Legislature and through it to the people. But as regards Defence, External Affairs and Constitutional Amendments Ceylon's national Parliament would be subordinated to the British Government. Bills relating to all three matters were reserved for the Governor's assent.

For obvious reasons the Soulbury Reforms could meet Ceylon's nationalist aspirations only partially. In June, 1947, the British Government announced they were ready to accord Ceylon the status of a Dominion, and invited the Ceylon Government for negotiations to realise the goal. The decision was a welcome departure from Britain's past manoeuvres to rivet fresh forges into the chain of slavery, while professing to make the colonies fit for self-government. Or rather it appeared to be so in the estimation of Ceylon's top-ranking politicians who reacted favourably to the new British move.

The British Government by their readiness to super-

seede the Soulbury Commission tacitly recognized the strength of the Ceylonese public opinion and the mighty forces of liberation at work in the entire Far East. Ceylon's politicians appreciated the worth of Dominion Status, as it could give them the right to govern their own country according to their own choice though, of course, Ceylon's prospects in matters like Defence and External Affairs were not promising enough.

SEPTEMBER ELECTIONS

In September, 1947, Ceylon's first General Elections under the Soulbury Reforms were held. Mr. D. S. Senanayake's United National Party came off victorious and he became Ceylon's Prime Minister. On November 14 last, the British Government announced that Anglo-Ceylonese agreements were reached on matters like Defence, External Affairs, etc., "as a preliminary to conferring upon Ceylon fully responsible Status within the British Commonwealth of Nations." Under the Ceylonese Independence Bill enacted later in November Ceylon obtained "full and unrestricted powers of legislation in all matters." The Bill became operative with effect from February 4 this year. But qualifications that accompany Ceylon's "Independence" as embodied in her Defence Pact with Britain leave no doubt that she will play a second fiddle to her previous Ruler in the years to come. Under the Defence arrangements concluded between Ceylon and Britain, the two Governments undertake to provide military assistance against external aggression and for the protection of essential communications. Britain will also enjoy the privilege of stationing forces on the island, and undertake to help in the training and development of Ceylonese Armed Forces.

Ceylon's New Constitution was inaugurated on November 25 last. When the Dominion Parliament was opened by the Governor he expressed the hope that very soon Ceylon would attain full responsible government. But the Parliamentary legislation making this provision is rather in keeping with the British tradition of 'Divide and Rule.' Dominion Status girt on all sides by pacts and agreements for the protection of British strategic and financial interests in the East may satisfy a section of Ceylon's people, but not all. Dominion Status is not the same thing as independence. It may satisfy Ceylon's Rightist political groups, but her Leftists are in no mood to reconcile themselves to it. All that can be said at the present stage is that the march to political emancipation has just begun in Ceylon. Certainly her political progress will not end with the status of a Dominion being bestowed on her. Tremendous political changes will take place everywhere in the East, and Ceylon is not an air-tight compartment not to be affected by these.

THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT

Ceylon is not that never-never land of romance and pageantry it is often described to be in travelogues and pamphlets issued by the Railway and Shipping Companies. Today it is a veritable cock-pit of a tough political fight

between the Left and the Right. The British Imperialists are certainly alive to the danger of these Leftist rumblings which may ultimately lead to a complete overthrow of alien imperialist regime and with it plunge deep into the ocean of oblivion whatever influence its lackeys hold on the political life of the island today. Just to forestall that and build up a bastion against the Leftist forces in the island consolidating their strength any further, the British have successfully manoeuvred with its Rightists to foist on Ceylon a regime that will look like independence outwardly, but actually help Britain wield her economic and strategic interests there with all the support of her own stooges eulogised wrongly as the representatives of the people. Britain has not abandoned her imperialism. She is only modernising her colonial rule in the altered circumstances of the post-war period.

For hundreds of years in the past the different communities inhabiting Ceylon used to raise the primitive cry of "Religion in danger". This was an expression of rivalry and jealousy among them,—Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus and Christians on the island. At a later stage religious riots yielded place to nationalism, but Ceylon's nationalism too was soon caught in the siren grip of racial rivalry, and a section of the island's population with or without reason raised an unhappy cry of "Ceylon for the Sinhalese." But today even that phase is gradually coming to an end and yielding scope and place to division of the people on the basis of political ideologies. To be more exact, in Ceylon today there is a more straight fight than ever between the Left and the Right. The latter are the party in power, but the former too are a potent force in the island's political life. Democratic Socialism seems the only feasible way out of this dilemma. The top-ranking politicians of Burma and India have taken care to take into account what explosive possibilities may follow if the Leftist aspirations of their countrymen are altogether ignored. To prevent Communism having much of a dent on the soil of Asia, it is necessary to forge ahead to a new social order which will be more just and equitable than the older Capitalist order already in decay. That is why both Burma and India have declared their objective to be the establishment of Democratic Socialism in both countries. But Ceylon's Rightists seem to be living in their own narrow Paradise. Not only have they flouted their Leftists altogether, but tied their future blindly to the apron-strings of a dying foreign imperialism that aims to linger obstinately while creating at the same time the illusory spectacle of self-liquidation. The future of Ceylon is thus fraught with possibilities of political troubles and even an upheaval that may give Communism a chance on the island's soil.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE LEFT

The rifts between the Right and the Left were clearly visible during the General Elections last September and the result of this political rivalry was that Mr. Senanayake's UNP (United National Party) failed to secure a sweeping victory at the polls. Even now in the Ceylonese Legislature the UNP commands but a thin majority. The UNP's

representative character is doubtful and its influence is confined to the groups that control Ceylon's vested interests. In the last General Elections the Left Parties in Ceylon succeeded in attracting a good number of votes—a phenomenon that reveals there is a swing towards the Left in this island of backward, and down-trodden but politically conscious people.

Among the Left Parties, the first in influence is the *Lanka Samasamaj* (Trotskyist). Next in position is the Bolshevik-Leninist Party. Then there is the Ceylon Communist Party, the third large Leftist group in the island. All these Leftist groups along with others like the Ceylon Indian Congress and the Tamil Congress stand for complete independence. They criticise Senanayake and his UNP for their acceptance of the Soulbury Constitution without consulting the electorate.

The Leftists naturally look askance at British intentions and their tricky manoeuvrings with the Rightists for making Ceylon "an integral part of the imperial defence scheme." Is it not, they rightly ask, 'mortgaging the independence of the island in perpetuity'?

SOCIALISM, A GOLDEN SOLUTION

Ceylon's people can be divided into two distinct groups—the "Haves" and the "Have-nots." In such circumstances bitter class-war is likely. But whether there will follow a swing to the Right or to the Left depends on what influence Mr. Senanayake's UNP can wield over the people. At present the influence of Ceylon's Leftists acting in alliance with the non-Sinhalese Parties is by no means negligible. The new Parliament of 96 contains 42 members from the UNP, 18 Leftists, 7 from Tamil Congress, 6 from Indian Ceylon Congress, 21 Independents, and 1 Labour. Will it be possible for the UNP to withstand the strain of the opposition should leftists and other disgruntled elements ever seek to overthrow their British regime? There is, of course, a golden solution to their difficulties. Mr. Senanayake can emulate Pandit Nehru's example, try to come nearer the masses and understand them and their difficulties, and if possible, work for a compromise between the Right and the Left. But God help him, if he does not do that and takes care to appease the British and the Sinhalese top-dogs only. That way the island will be rocked by a storm, and the inevitable will happen not by a slow peaceful process but through bitter struggles for power between the Right and the Left. The age of imperialism is over, and the bitter-enders cannot but resent any attempt to prolong the tenure of its life in a new garb.

INDIANS IN CEYLON

Ceylon's population comprises in the main three different peoples,—the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Indians. A section of the Sinhalese have developed a chauvinistic outlook and their anti-Indian feeling seems to run high at the present moment. It is for this reason that Indians who number about one million out of the island's total population of six million and who control most of its trade have begun to feel nervous about their position in

new Ceylon after the British exit (*i.e.*, withdrawal by the front door, but re-entry by the back door). Ceylon's Prime Minister Mr. D. S. Senanayake came out to India last December and had talks with Pandit Nehru with a view to straighten out relations between India and Ceylon. Talks were held in a very friendly atmosphere and after his return home Mr. Senanayake issued a statement from Colombo which said that Indians who would desire to make Ceylon their permanent home would be entitled to Ceylon citizenship, provided they had certain necessary qualifications. This is an eminently sensible stand as no modern state could encourage dual citizenship. The Indian Government have a duty to our nationals abroad to see to it that their legitimate rights are not curbed as in F.M. Smuts' Kingdom that still sticks to its outmoded notion of white-supremacy. But let us not unduly seek to placate vested interests in foreign countries even if owned by our own nationals.

Whatever rivalry and ill-feeling be there between the Sinhalese and the Indians in Ceylon, owe their origin to economic causes. Early in the 19th century European tea and coffee planters took over to Ceylon a number of Indian subjects,—the Malayalees and the Tamilians to be engaged as workers on their estates. Later there were more crossing over to Ceylon and settling down as permanent inhabitants on the island. In course of time Indians living in Ceylon came to occupy an important position in the island's economy,—its labour personnel and its trade. Ceylonese nationalism naturally looked askance at the dominating role played by Indians in Ceylon's economic life. Indians claim that they have given prosperity to the island, and hope that the Sinhalese will not turn down their legitimate demand for citizenship rights including franchise. But Mr. Senanayake's statement referred to above is no more than a pleasantly-phrased vagary: it is significant that he did not explain what he meant when

he said, Indians in Ceylon would get citizenship provided they had certain necessary qualifications. What are these necessary qualifications after all? Mr. Senanayake could not help us much beyond suggesting, these were a matter for legislation in the near future. It is a well-known fact that India's ties with Ceylon date back to antiquity. But can mere sentiment solve a problem which to some extent has unnerved our nationals on the island? Let us hope that Ceylon's present rulers will not fail to mete out a just and equitable deal towards them. And Indians too in their turn should not resent the control which the Sinhalese may decide to exercise with regard to future immigration from India into Ceylon. It is true that even after a very long period of their sojourn in Ceylon Indians retain their own custom. They have not been absorbed into the main stream of Ceylonese life and culture. But as Ceylonese citizens, they cannot and should not stand apart politically from other communities on the island.

Ceylon certainly needs to maintain good-neighbourly relations with India through all the years to come. Not only do close religious and cultural ties exist between them, but geographically too Ceylon is a part of India. This small island which is more or less an appendage of India cannot stand apart from the latter. She has to rely on India for political reasons. In the interest of her own security she certainly cannot afford to have an unfriendly big neighbour nagging at her. Given determination and good-will Ceylon's present administrators can and must straighten out the relations between the Sinhalese and the Indians in Ceylon. In fact, in an otherwise bright and hopeful picture of future Indo-Ceylonese relations the only black spot as yet discernible is the narrow anti-Indian sentiment which has grown up among a section of the Sinhalese. Ceylon has to erase it or troubles will be brewing.

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HOW QAZIS AND MUFTIS DID JUSTICE

(In the early years of British rule in Bengal)

By DR. N. K. SINHA, M.A. Ph.D.

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MUSLIM penal law, as also the criminal law of the Hindus which it had superseded, were regarded by Macaulay as altogether unfit for the consideration of the Indian Law Commission. In a letter, dated 2nd May, 1837, he argued that if India was in possession of a system of criminal law which the people regarded with partiality the law commissioners would try to digest it and moderately to correct it and would not propose a system fundamentally different. At the advent of British rule in Bengal the penal law in force in Bengal was Muhammadan law. Even after 1765 the administration of criminal justice continued in the hands of the Muhammadans, the Qazis and Muftis being responsible for the *fatwah* or interpretation of

Muhammadan law, the Foujdars referring for sentence to the Naib Nazim. Muhammad Reza Khan, who was Naib Nazim for the greater part of the period from 1765 to 1790 thus controlled country justice on the criminal side. But after December 1790 began the systematic supersession of Muslim criminal law by British regulations. Muslim penal law was gradually 'dis-stated' to such an extent that it had no longer any title to the religious veneration of the Muslims and only certain original peculiarities, certain technical terms and nice distinctions—mere lumber of pedantry—remained as relics encumbering the dispensation of justice. Macaulay swept this rubbish aside.

In the Sadr Nizamat records of 1791 and 1792, now

in the custody of the High Court of Calcutta, I have seen some of the *fatwahs* of the Qazis and Muftis that give us an idea of Muslim criminal jurisprudence before the advent of British regulations. We can also trace in these records the supersession of Muslim criminal law step by step. I give here the exact words used by the Qazis and Muftis, as translated into English for the enlightenment of the judges of the Sadr Nizam-at Adalat, about a century and a half ago.

Fatwah of Sirajuddin Khan, Qazi to the Court of Circuit for the Calcutta Division and Mufti Abdul Basat re: the murder of Amala by her husband Mangal Das, March, 1791.

"Mangol Das has been guilty of a bad action for which according to the doctrine of Imaum Aboo Yusuf and Imaum Mohammud he would be liable to be punished with death but as one of the heirs has forgiven the murderer and as it is not possible to divide a person, the law ordains that Mungal Dass shall not be punished with death. Parbotty (daughter of the deceased) having remitted her claim to have share of the price of blood, her claim is accordingly done away but Shoroo (sister of the deceased) is entitled to receive her share of the price of blood."

It was the considered opinion of Meer Hyder and Md. Moshuruff, Muftis to the Sadr Nizam-at Adalat that "the law ordains that it is incumbent on the hakim first to consider the will of the heirs of a murdered person with regard to the option of requiring blood for blood or the price of blood, and if the heirs are not present he must cause them to be summoned to attend for *Kessaus* (Qasas—blood for blood) and *Deyut* (price of blood) are the rights of the slaves of god. Therefore a sentence is properly established when it is founded on the will of the heirs of a murdered man."

Abstract from the proceedings received from the Naib Nazim with sentences and dates on which they were passed—case of Seyed Chand—murder—date, 17th Shaban, 1205 (21st April, 1791).

"In a trial for murder the evidence of woman is invalid. Shaikh Garoo has given in evidence that Naunee, the deceased, died 21 days after receiving the wounds from the sword . . . the amlah must be directed to keep Seyed Chand in confinement and to call on the plaintiff to know whether he has any other evidence (except that of women) to prove that the deceased person died from the wounds she received from the sword."

A *fatwah* of Nijm-ud-Din, the Chief Qazi of Bengal, in a case of murder—Sadr Nizam-at Adalat, December, 1791 :

"It does not appear whether Keetoo Chowdhury and Kaloo Choudhury are true believers (Musalmans) or Zimmies (infidels). If they are Mosulman, the evidence of Hindu witnesses cannot be allowed to operate against them and further they deny the crime, therefore they are not deserving of *Tazeer*. If the persons are Zimmies, as two witnesses give evidence saying that they saw them with their own eyes striking with their swords they would have been punishable by death had not the witnesses further

declared that they did not know from whence the affray commenced on which account they are not subject to *Kessaus* but they are deserving of severe punishment. Therefore let them be kept in confinement for seven years and then be released."

Fatwah of Nijm-ud-Din, Meer Hyder and Md. Moshuruff in the case of Russea for murder, May, 1792 :

"Russea would have been deserving of being put to death for crime which he has committed had the witnesses been Mohamedan but on account of the invalidity of witnesses *Kassaus* is removed although he is deserving of being imprisoned."

Circuit Division of Patna—Trial of Dilla, 5th October, 1792—Fatwah of Qazi and Mufti at Patna :

"Dilla, the defendant confessed the murder of Ramdial but the deceased left an infant daughter three years of age. Hence, in conformity to the doctrine of Aboo Yusuf* and Mohammud, Dilla the defendant, is not subject to *Kessaus* until the daughter arrives at maturity. . . because the right to demand *Kessaus* is conjoint."

On an appeal to the Sadr Nizam-at Adalat, the Chief Qazi and Mufti opined :

"The widow and the father of the deceased demand *Kessaus*. In this case, therefore, Dilla according to the doctrine of Aboo Huneeefa should be put to death."

The inconsistency of this law to natural justice could not be overlooked by the Governor-General in Council and they had to announce that the right of punishment belongs to the Government and not to the individual. The disability on the Hindus as witnesses and the ban on the evidence of women had to be removed. But the Muhammadan administrators were themselves convinced of the inadequacy of their law for the prevention of crimes. They were unable to alter this law in spite of its inadequacy because of its religious sanction. So the custom was almost universal in all criminal courts of the Qazis and the Muftis adding a reference to the will of the Hakim at the end of their judgments. The practice also grew up of condemning prisoners to imprisonment during the pleasure of the ruler. Md. Reza Khan informed the Sadr Nizam-at Adalat that such sentences were passed on offenders of whose guilt the Qazis and Muftis were convinced but the evidence against whom did not amount to legal proof. Such offenders were not permitted to return to society and were committed to prison during the pleasure of the sovereign. The perpetual imprisonment was naturally repugnant to the principle of justice and the Sadr Nizam-at Adalat in 1791 and 1792 reviewed all cases of perpetual imprisonment, releasing most of the prisoners who had already undergone a considerable term of imprisonment.†

*Abu Yusuf Ibn Yakub, Chief Justice of Baghdad under Harun-al-Rashid and the author of the standard legal text book *Kitab-ul-Kharaj*.

†I have given extracts from only four case records. To illustrate the principles guiding Qazis and Muftis I could have referred to at least twenty such cases from the Sadr Nizam-at Adalat records but that would have given the article not a historical but a technical legal aspect.

INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS AND WORLD ECONOMY

By C. SELVANAYAKI

To study the role that raw materials have played in the shaping of world economy, one should go back to that great cataclysmic upheaval in the social and economic conditions of man—the “Industrial Revolution.” The emergence of scientific inventions and technical progress, unparalleled transportation development and the ushering in of the industrial era, the growing importance of manufacturing industries and the new significance of ‘raw materials’—these changes followed one another in quick succession and a new society was born in which men and women produced for commerce and not merely for subsistence, in which they used in their daily lives the products of different countries and in which they relied for the most part of their production on the help of new marvels called machines.

The development of material knowledge took rapid strides and placed in the hands of man new weapons by which to harness the forces of nature. The progress of physical sciences reacted upon metallurgy affording the possibility of a larger and a bolder handling of masses of metal and other minerals. Machinery on a new scale and in a new abundance appeared to revolutionise industry. The industrial revolution which divided the 19th century civilisation from the previous ones was the product of this mechanical revolution.

The industrial revolution gave a new importance and significance to raw materials. Even though man was using the products of nature to produce the goods to satisfy his needs, the demand for large quantities of these materials of nature rose only after the growth of manufacturing industries on a large scale. The growth of manufacturing industries accelerated the production of raw materials and led to a rapid development of mineral resources firstly slowly and with a limited range of products, then on a large scale and extended variety.

The world output of coal rose from 12 million tons in 1800 to more than 45 millions in 1840, 500 million tons in 1890 and 1200 million tons in 1913; that of pig-iron from less than 200,000 tons in 1800 to 10 million tons in 1870 and 40 million tons in 1900. The same phenomenon was observed in other raw materials like oilseeds, rubber, etc.

This ever-growing demand for raw materials in large quantities stimulated the greed of industrial nations who cast their eyes around them and scanned the distant horizon for raw materials to supply their gigantic factories. Instead of spreading friendship among different nations, the new opportunity created only friction among them. There began a new era of exploitation. The British overseas possessions which had hitherto been regarded as a source of weakness to the kingdom was no longer regarded as such. The “white man’s burden” was transformed into a source of strength. There was a clamour on a vaster scale and for new commodities. Hitherto the chief commodities that had attracted European powers into unsettled and bar-

barous regions had been gold or other precious metals, spices, ivory or slaves but in the latter quarter of the 19th century the growth of scientific industrialism was creating a new demand for new raw materials like fats and greases of every kind and rubber, etc.

India as the “Agricultural Farm” of Europe supplied the European countries with products in their raw state. She exported spices and opium, oilseeds and fibre which swelled the figures in trade between India and the West during the early years of the industrial growth of western nations. Apart from India there was no great expansion of any European Empire until the railways and steamships were in effective action. The Australian settlements developed slowly until in 1842, the discovery of valuable copper mines and in 1851, of gold gave them a new importance. Australian wool became an important article of commerce. By 1840, British settlements had begun in New Zealand and efforts were made to develop this island. After 1871, Germany and presently France and later Italy began to look for unannexed raw material areas. So there began a fresh scramble all over the world. Europe pounced upon China to divide her coal and America seized the Philippines to enforce the “open door.” The greed for rubber made Africa a victim to European colonists. Thus there developed two different patterns in world economy. The world was divided into two sectors—the producer of raw materials and the consumer of raw materials. It was plain that Britain, Holland and Portugal were reaping a great and growing commercial advantage from their control of tropical and sub-tropical products.

Simultaneously with economic practice, economic theory also paid special attention to the problem of “raw materials.” From the middle of the 18th century up to the middle of the 19th century the problems of raw material supply were generally regarded by economists as not only peculiar but crucial. The Physiocrats regarded the raw materials producing industries as the unique source of social net product. While Adam Smith disputed the contention that agriculture and mining were the sole source of wealth of nations, even he was willing to allow that the labour of those engaged in cultivative and extractive industries is certainly more productive than that of merchants, artificers, etc. Though Ricardo and Malthus could agree on few things, they were in agreement with this, “that the economic process in which nature plays an important role and displays most clearly her munificence or parsimony are decisive in determining the sale and limits of economic progress.”

After the middle of the 19th century economics no less than economic statesmanship became increasingly concerned with the role of capital in the productive process. Latterly, however, the focal point of interest appears once more to be shifting towards the problem of raw materials. Even before the war there was noticeable a tendency both

in theory and practice towards a re-appraisal of, for one thing, the significance of technology and for another, the part played by raw material availability in moulding the economic pattern. After the advent of electric power there is more and more a tendency towards the location of industries near the sources of raw materials.

With the rise and growth of the industrial civilisation, the definition of the term "raw material" also underwent a rapid change. The classical economist regarded as raw materials only the material gifts of nature or the various vegetable, animal or mineral products in their crude form. In this case, the distinction between raw materials and manufactured articles seem to be based on the fact that the articles in the creation of which human energy and skill play no part would be regarded as raw materials while the articles in the manufacturing group owe to a very large extent their properties and form directly to the skill of man.

But the modern conception of 'raw material' is wider and more elastic in its scope. Whether an article is a raw material or not is determined by the "intentions of the consumer and the nature of the part of the article is expected to play in the scheme of manufacture." Any article which is directly used in the manufacture of another article is described by the manufacturer of the latter as a raw material, though it may be a manufactured product from the commercial point of view. Thus, for instance, from the commercial standpoint Oil is a finished product but it is scarcely anything more than a raw material when paint, varnish or soap industries are taken into consideration. Even paints and varnishes can be regarded as raw materials when various other dependent industries are taken into consideration. Thus the chain goes on and on indefinitely. With every step towards widening the industrial structure of a country and with every step towards advancement in scientific and technical knowledge, the raw material base is bound to widen. The modern industrial world rests on a raw material structure that is international in its scope.

A modern industrial country uses more than ten thousand different raw materials but not all these are essential for the industrial advancement of any one country. Apart from certain 'basic' raw materials which are essential to every country, especially in times of war, the industrial structure of the different countries rests on 'primary' raw materials of vegetable (sub-divided into agricultural and forest), mineral and animal origin. The ultimate basis of all kinds of industries are these 'primary' raw materials. The different categories of minerals like iron, steel, lead, copper, zinc, manganese, mica, tin, bauxite, etc.; the textile raw materials like cotton, wool, silk, jute and other fibres; fat materials like cotton seeds, castor seed, groundnuts, etc.; forest materials like timber, wood, wood-pulp, etc.; rubber; hides and skins; these are some of the raw materials which figure prominently in world trade and for the supply of which highly industrialised nations exploit the industrially undeveloped regions for their own benefit.

But the 19th century pattern of world economy which divided the world into two distinct sectors—producers of

raw materials and consumers of raw materials—could not remain undisturbed for long. One part of the world would not perennially remain agricultural, producing materials for the gigantic factories of the other part and serving as markets for the finished products of those factories. With the awakening of their consciousness politically, there was a protest against this annual drain of their raw materials to foreign lands and there was more and more a tendency towards restriction of exports and their utilisation for indigenous industries. This made the problem of raw material supply all the more acute and the different nations of the world began to feel the necessity for an enquiry into the question of equal commercial access for all nations to certain essential raw materials.

With the appearance of an independent India on the industrial map of the world, the world economic structure is bound to undergo considerable changes. India will no longer be an exporter of raw materials but a consumer. Her natural resources actual and potential, will be utilised for the industrial development of the nation. This will call for a comprehensive survey of her raw material resources, which have hitherto been left unexplored or exploited indiscriminately. While the future industrial structure of India will depend on the full and economic utilisation of her natural wealth that of other highly industrialised nations like U. S. A. will be determined by the way in which they react to the fact that their resources are dwindling. A recent report on America's natural resources reveals that the war has severely depleted her known commercial reserves of metals. High grade iron ore, it is estimated, will cover at best seventeen more years, while the output of lead mines is only half of what it was twenty years back, other metals like copper and zinc might last for a decade more but manganese, tungsten, etc., are near exhaustion. Her timber resources are only 50 per cent of what was available in 1910 and annual growth covers only two-thirds of yearly needs. In future America's industrial requirements of raw materials will have to be met by "large imports, by digging deeper into the earth, by using lower grade ores and by developing substitutes."

This brings us to the question of synthetic raw materials and their economic implications. So long as raw materials are cheap and plentiful, there is little spur towards devising man-made substitutes for them. But as soon as the pinch of scarcity is felt and the cost of raw material goes up, wits are put to work to offset the limitation. Either by exact synthetic imitation of natural products or by substitutes for natural products or by bringing into existence entirely new substances, the chemist reduces the dependence on natural raw materials. The 20th century has been called the 'century of synthetics,' yet not many of us are aware of its full implications or the nature of their possible impact on industrial and economic structure. Synthesising enables a country to make the most economic use of scarce materials which it possess and thus raise its industrial potentiality. The new technique of synthetics will enable a country to make the most economic use of its mineral resources (which are "shrinking assets") and to rely more than ever on renewable natural resources like

agriculture and forestry. Finally, the use of synthetic materials will powerfully affect the "localisation" of industry. We are told that in the new age of synthetics cheap power and availability of coal and petroleum and also labour will constitute the chief locational factors for industries. During the war it was thought that the German economic machine would break down for want of this material or that, but synthetic materials came to the rescue and kept the machinery going.

But until such time as when synthetic products invad-

ing the entire industrial structure of the world, bring about a more equal distribution of industrial opportunities among nations, the fact of the uneven distribution of raw materials will, by creating the problem of raw material supply, maintain the present rivalry and exploitation among the different countries. Until such time as when the new technique of synthetics diminishes the importance of raw material availability in moulding the economic pattern of different countries, the problem of raw material supply will persist.

STAGGERED WORKING IN BRITAIN

By GORDON CUMMINGS

AMONG the expedients now being used by British industry to speed production is the staggering of working hours. The primary objective of this is to avoid a repetition of last winter's heavy load shedding of electricity, which was caused by the inability of generating plants to cope with peak loads and demands often far beyond their capacity. This scheme, judging by facts just issued, is a success. Staggering has reduced the industrial electricity peak by one quarter and has transferred about 750,000 kilowatts from peak hours to less busy periods of the day.

Staggering has been arranged in four main ways, all by voluntary arrangement. Transfer to night work of processes with a heavy electrical load, but involving comparatively few workers, is one method. A second one is the staggering of daytime and evening shifts, while a third is what is known as the power-less day scheme, whereby each firm in an area has one day without power and makes up the working time by longer hours on other days or at the week-end. The fourth method is the use of private generators, mostly driven by oil.

In addition to the considerable conservation of fuel and the prevention of production hold-ups, staggering, by reason of its spreading of working hours over a longer day, has also eased transport problems in many areas. In fact, in the case of the workers, staggering was first adopted in the early years of the war for the purpose of reducing peak loads on transport. Schemes then evolved showed that a difference of as little as 15 minutes in the starting and finishing times of different factories in one locality could save a high proportion of transport and get workers from and to their homes in much less time. Transport staggering is now a settled feature in many industrial areas of Britain and also in big business areas such as the City of London.

The electricity staggering scheme, incidentally, is an example of the way in which British workers are adjusting themselves to the present call for greater production. They are convinced that hard work plus, in most cases, temporary inconvenience, is the essential prelude to the return of more prosperous and plentiful times. This is coupled with the realisation that, although production in many

industries is going ahead, there are still big demands to meet.

Coal is an instance of this need for still further efforts. On the basis of recent production figures there will be no coal hold-up this winter. Avoiding a hold-up will not, however, be enough. Britain has recently resumed coal exports in a small way and plans to increase them substantially. For this purpose, therefore, this year's production target has been raised by 14,000,000 tons to 214,000,000 tons which, without allowing for holidays, will mean an average of 4,125,000 tons a week compared with recent averages of about 4,250,000 tons. It is advisable to point out here, however, that fluctuations in weekly production must be expected during the next two to three months, which will cover the severest winter weather.

Open-cast coal-mining, which has been providing something approaching 250,000 tons weekly, is almost entirely at the mercy of the weather and a freeze-up might easily reduce this source of supply to nothing. The British authorities, fully alive to all the adverse possibilities, have therefore based their calculations on average production over a lengthy period. Any falling off in weekly production from the recent high levels of more than 4,250,000 tons will consequently not indicate that objectives are going adrift or that export plans will have to be trimmed. What will be lost in the cold weather will be made up later in the year. And on this question of catching up on lost production it must be remembered that mechanisation of the British coal-mines is going ahead at a good pace. As more machines are installed so will the output per man shift increase.

Summing up, therefore, it seems safe to say that coal, while it will still play a vital part in the British economy, will not be of the same paramount importance in 1948 as it was last year. Steel is likely to take its place in the order of demand. British steel production has been set a target of 14,000,000 tons for 1948. It should manage to achieve that, particularly as recent monthly output has been in excess of this figure. Here again, however, any temporary recessions in the winter months are likely to be made good later in 1948.

WHITHER PAKISTAN?—WHAT NEXT?

By QAZI MUKHTAR AHMAD, M.A.

TIME has only shown that the establishment of Pakistan has been the greatest catastrophe for the Muslim masses. The havoc it has wrought, the situation it has created is almost unparalleled in the history of the homo-sapiens. Innumerable human beings, both Hindus and Mussalmans, were massacred in cold blood. Those who escaped death have become homeless. It is all Pakistan's doing. The human history does not record a greater blunder than Pakistan which has proved to be more devastating than Chengiz Khan's invasion where only 23,000 people were massacred, more abhorrent than the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre where 30,000 men were killed, more impolitic than Shah Jahan's invasion of Central Asia where the Indian soldiers suffered a defeat worse than death. Pakistan's success might be gigantic, its failure is bound to be so. The establishment of this so-called Muslim state has proved to be the greatest misfortune of those whose state it is unfortunately called. Why this? Only because it was not established with honest intentions. Now it is clear beyond any shadow of doubt that it is, in fine, the resultant of power politics, its foundation is therefore bound to be shaky. It is a state which can scarcely be labelled politically. It professes to be a democracy, but it acts otherwise; it calls itself a Muslim state, but it continues to be a dictatorship; it pretends to safeguard the minorities, but its leaders are busy in something else in levelling charges against Hindustan. Lies are heaped upon lies, one blunder is followed by another greater in magnitude. Completely oblivious of the interests of the Indian Muslims on whose support its structure was laid up, Pakistan stands for fighting with all the world. "Its ideal is Machiavelli and not the U.N.O. Charter." To call it the custodian of the Muslim interest is a grotesque reversal of truth.

An honest Muslim feels, as he felt before, that Pakistan is not the result of the true general will of the Muslims, because it was achieved with the employment of Fascist technique. The Muslim League was not a political organization, it was a communal body. It exploited religion, it consecrated sacrilege, it entrapped the poor Muslim masses. The false cry of Islam in danger completely upset a common Muslim, who was too honest, too simple-minded to understand the trickery of the League leaders. They literally acted upon the technique followed by Hitler in Germany, by Mussolini in Italy. They had an object in view, the safeguard of the Muslim upper classes. They were absolutely clear in their minds about the object in view, and I must confess that they played their game with consummate adroitness. Most of them coming from upper classes knew fully well that

the uncontrollable democratizing spirit of the time will cut at the very root of their power, and the reactionary institutions like Aristocracy, Landlordism, Capitalism will be liquidated. They joined the Muslim League, not for the amelioration of the Muslim masses, but for the realization of their own ambitions. To them politics was a mere gamble, and the Muslim League only a face-saving device. They had an axe to grind, the Muslim masses were made a scape-goat. For the realization of their unsacred ambitions they resorted to communal propaganda. In this technique they were adepts, no less than Dr. Goebbels. Harping upon the religious tune always, they sought to win the Muslim masses. Their colossal propaganda, their hate-propagating sermons, their bellicose slogans had the desired reaction. The Muslims gradually lost the political sense and ultimately they were *en masse* betrayed. None was allowed to examine the League politics, lest its loopholes might be exposed. The command of the Fuehrer was to follow him blindly. Mr. Jinnah, now the Qaid-e-Azam, once said, "Vote for the League candidate, be it a lamp post." Jinnah undoubtedly made the Muslim politics aristocratic, he made it an ass's bridge by his word-jugglery.

Further, for achieving the Eldorado, devastating and absurd tactics were followed. Ignoring completely the historical and geographical factors, Jinnah propounded the fantastic two-nation theory for widening the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. Muslims were supposed to have one culture, the Hindus quite the other when 99 per cent of the Indian Muslims were converts from Hinduism and when all of them belonged to one race, the Aryan race. It is needless to discuss the absurdity of this theory which divided cultures on the basis of religion. Were it so, all the Muslims of the world would have been one nation. The enunciation of this theory has proved to be more suicidal than Pakistan itself. Jinnah tried to dismember the Indian nation. If the Hindu masses detest today with their whole soul the pro-Pakistan Muslim, they are justified in doing so. Jinnah wanted to crush the Indian nation, but the time will tell him that he was weaving the rope of sand, he was trying for the impossible. It is a tragedy of history that he temporarily succeeded in befooling the Muslim masses.

This seems to be the correct analysis of the position. Now when the mischief is done, I think that an average Muslim understands what Pakistan means. He seems to realise that it is the symbol of tyranny, the result of Mr. Jinnah's ego. This I am talking about the average Muslim, not about the remnants of Jinnahism, who still abound in India. Now, a pertinent question

risers, were the Muslims so childlike as not to know the dire consequences of Pakistan. I, in my heart of heart, feel that the Muslim rank and file were really so. They supported Pakistan without understanding the implications of this diabolical move. They became powerless before the psychological methods of Mr. Jinnah, they surrendered in an unconscious emotional state of mind. Such parallels are not far to seek in history. The Nazi creed, in spite of its inherent inconsistencies and dangers, was once the dominant creed of Germany. If anybody is to be blamed, it is Hitler and his satellites, and not the German people. Mussolini did likewise in Italy, Metternich in Austria, Randolph Churchill and latterly of the same species Winston Churchill in Great Britain. The leaders had always been responsible, the masses had always been like sheep.

If anybody is to blame today, it is the League leadership and a certain section of the Muslim educated class. The conciliatory attitude of the Congress leaders turned their brains, and the Muslim League leaders developed a peculiar complex. Always intransigent and irreconcilable, puffed up with pride, they were always in alt. They developed a peculiar code of courtesy. Every Muslim League leader followed the example set by Jinnah Sahib. I very well remember that in 1945 when I criticized, through the columns of the *Leader* and *Patrika*, a speech of Raja of Mahmudabad, I got an unhealthy rebuff. I received various letters, full of abuses and foul expressions and which I still preserve as a monument of their folly.

It is in this background that the present problem of the Indian Muslims should be understood. An average Muslim seems to be sorry for what he has done, although I quite realise that the Muslim League stalwarts are still as irreconcilable as they were before. Now the task of the Machiavellian diplomatists has ended, that of the common Muslim begun. He must realise, fully well, that there has been tremendous change in the political firmament of India. He has to fit himself in the new set-up. The Indian Muslims should, once and for all, drive away the delusion that Jinnah can be of any help to them any more. Jinnah's tactics have now been exposed, he has undoubtedly proved himself to be the Dutchman of Indian politics. Those who will still continue to follow his path, I warn them that they will be playing with edge tools. Jinnah has completely forgotten the Indian Muslims on whose support the structure of Pakistan was laid up. He did not say a single word of sympathy for them, all that he has said so far is plundering and blundering. It is meant to delude us.

Jinnah's clap-traps should no more be heard. The Indian Muslims are Indians and not Pakistanis. They have thrown their lot, and I am happy they have done so, with the Hindus, their countrymen, who can ill afford to ignore them.

I am personally opposed to the giving of any pledge to loyalty. They should prove by their actions

that they are loyal to India. If they stand the trial, I am sure, the suspicion will vanish like snow in the sun-shine. Having faith in democracy, in the generosity and broad-mindedness of the majority community, Muslims should proceed on with courage and determination. They have to undo what they have done, they have to follow a new lead. In short they have a tremendous task before them. If they do not learn by experience even now, if they persist in their folly, they have no right to exist, either in India or anywhere else.

Further, they should follow with single-minded devotion the following line of action. It is, in fine, a device for self-preservation:

Muslims should now ungrudgingly follow the lead of Maulana Azad, the apostle of patriotism. Had they only followed him earlier, the worst would not have happened. Even the belated adherence will solve the problem. If the Muslims of India fail to unite and come on a single platform, I am afraid, their fate will be worse than that of the Jews in Palestine, the Negroes in Latin America, the Indians in South Africa.

The Muslim League should be demolished root and branch. An organisation whose mischief has been so far-extending does not deserve to exist. Hindus are not keen to see its funeral for they have nothing to fear against it; Muslims should in their own interest bury it deep. We have had enough of communalism. Now no more of it. In the future India it is bound to be a drug in the market. The Muslim League leaders should take to solitary cells, they should retire from politics otherwise they will do tremendous harm to the Muslim community. They are no more wanted, Pakistan has proved to be their death warrant.

I agree, the Muslims should join the Congress only if they sincerely resign to its creed. If their adherence to it is only out of expediency and it is not based on intellectual conviction, I shall advise them not to join the Congress. They should know fully well that in the code of international politics, turn-coats are called Quislings and their punishment is death. They should be unequivocally loyal to the state and should be prepared to fight against any power, be it Pakistan or any other state. Mere word-profession will not do, let them translate it into action.

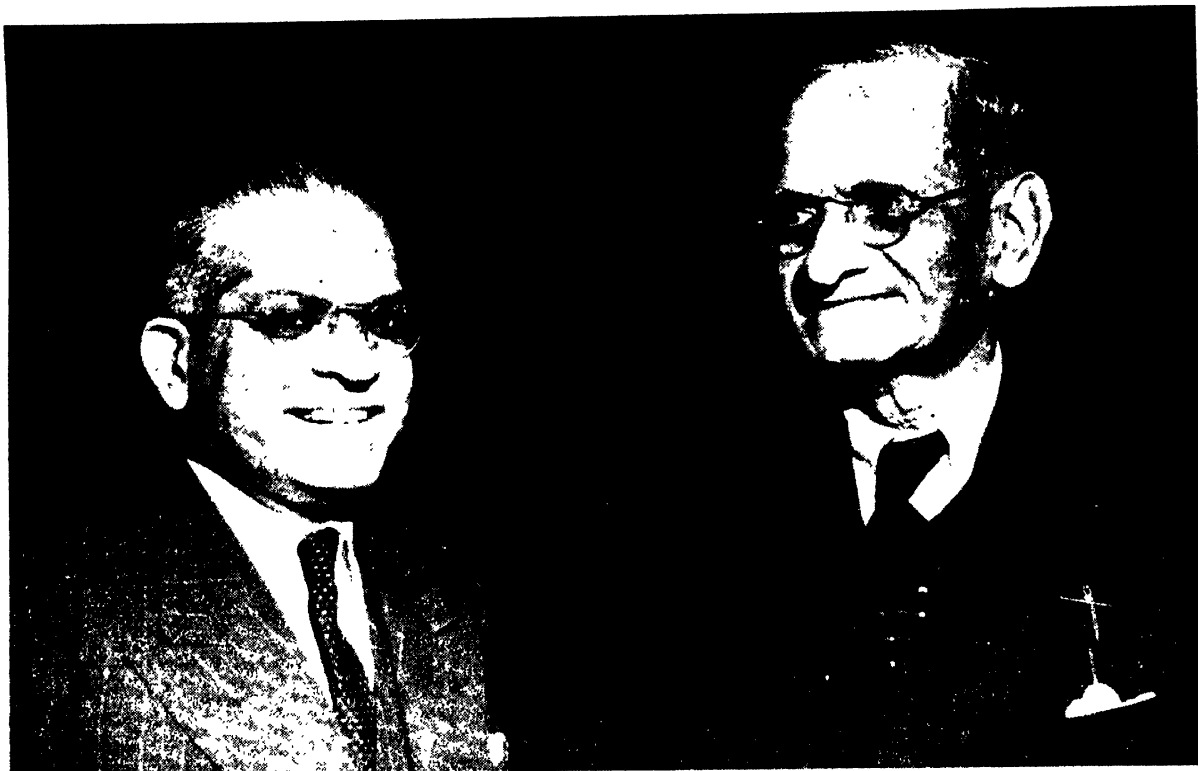
Next, they have to undo with enthusiasm and push what they once did so foolishly. Pakistan has got to be liquidated in the lifetime of Mr. Jinnah. Muslims should be able to tell in his face that he hoodwinked them, he did them harm by dividing India which was designed to be one country. This is not a long-term programme. I am confident that if they whole-heartedly try for it, India will again be united. The infant state of Pakistan can be liquidated soon. Mr. Jinnah seems to bank upon the help of the Muslim countries. The clear-sighted know that he is suffering from intellectual squint, he is labouring under a delusion, because the Islamic countries are national



General view of the 226th meeting of the United Nations Security Council, as Dr. Padmanabha P. Pillai of India, left, at table, addresses the members on the Kashmir question



Partial view of the Security Council, as the Pakistan Ambassador M. A. Hasan Ispahani requests for a postponement of the consideration of the Indian complaint on the situation in Kashmir



N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, right, India's Minister without Portfolio, talks with Dr. Padmanabha P. Pillai, India's representative to the United Nations, before the 227th meeting of the Security Council



Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, left, representative of Pakistan, talks with Sir Philip Noel-Baker, U. K. Minister without Portfolio

states, they do not thrive on communalism as Pakistan does. The Muslims of India who made Pakistan can as well undo it. If the reactionary Sunderbund could be liquidated in Switzerland, why not Pakistan in India?

Lastly, the Muslims should learn to be good neighbours. They have got to adjust themselves in the new settings or else they are likely to be persecuted. Now they should attach no importance to the old controversies like cow-slaughter and music before

mosque. They are the bogies of British Imperialism and have no substance in them. Moreover, if cow-slaughter injures his neighbour, it is his duty as a good citizen to refrain from it. Muslims should also give up emphasizing the importance of Urdu, it has no religious sanctity whatsoever. If they do not learn Hindi, they will do it at the cost of their interests. It is in these little things that they can show their willingness to be good and loyal citizens of India.

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INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD CIVILISATION

By PROF. SANTOSH KUMAR RAY, M.A. (Econ. & Hist.), B.T., B.L.

ONE is amazed at the grandeur and majesty of India's mountains—the Himalayas. Far more marvellous is the story of India's contribution to world civilization. The subject is a vast one. It would fill volumes. All that we can do in the course of a short article is to refer to some historical facts, by way of illustration.

The ancient Greeks owed not a little to Indian philosophy. Pythagoras in the 5th century, and later Plotinus were the chief exponents of Indian philosophy. Indian philosophers maintain that the Absolute, which is also the Infinite, cannot be apprehended by the finite human mind nor expressed in the limited human speech. That is also the central idea in the philosophy of Plotinus. The following quotation from Plotinus reminds one of the famous expression of Indian philosophy, *na iti* ('He is not this'). Plotinus says, "We say what He is not, we cannot say what He is."

Sir Flinders Petrie of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology discovered at Memphis (the ancient capital of Egypt) some statues of Indian types. Such discoveries prove the existence of an Indian colony in ancient Egypt about 500 B.C.

One of the statues represents an Indian Yogi, sitting cross-legged in deep meditation. Ideas of asceticism which appeared in Egypt about this time must have been due to contact with the Indians.

Sir Aurel Stein, a former principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, discovered that ancient India established colonies in Central Asia and ruled there for several centuries. They also introduced there their own language—a kind of Prakrita. The study of the materials collected by the British, the French, the German, the Russian and the Japanese governments shows among other things that the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were translated into languages of Central Asia—Khotanese, Manichian, Kuchian, etc.

Numerous Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan and Chinese. The two Tibetan Encyclopaedias consist mainly of translations of Sanskrit works. Many thousand Indian nuns went to China and founded schools and colleges.

Indian philosophy, Indian art, Indian architecture, Indian literature, Indian games, Indian medicine, Indian

music, etc., followed Buddhism into Tibet, China, Korea, Annam, Siam and other parts of Central and Eastern Asia, and have left indelible impression on those countries.

It is well-known that ancient India engaged in remarkable maritime activities and set up powerful kingdoms in Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Indonesia and other places.

The Sanskrit work *Panchatantra* was translated into several languages, e.g., Arabic, Persian, Latin, Greek, French, German, English, etc. The Indian method of telling a tale within a tale was widely imitated, e.g., in *One Thousand and One Nights (Alf-Lela)* in Arabic and in the *Pentameron* and *Decameron* in Italian. Many Indian tales are found in La Fontaine's famous work in French. Sir Thomas North adopted them in English and they were utilised by Shakespeare in a modified form in his plays. Goethe, one of the greatest of modern European poets and playwrights, was deeply impressed with *Sakuntala*. He modelled the prologue of his master-piece *Faust* on that of *Sakuntala*. Schopenhauer read the Latin translations of the Upanishads and exclaimed, "This is the solace of my life; this will be the solace of my death." Bhagavadgita deeply impressed Von Humboldt, the Rabin-drana Tagore of Germany. The influence of the Gita on Carlyle and Emerson is now generally recognised. The German translations of Sanskrit works produced a very powerful movement ("storm and stress") in German literature.

Mathematics and other sciences travelled from India to Europe via Arabia. The world owes much to Aryabhatta, Varahamihira, Khana, Lilavati and to a galaxy of Indian astronomers and scientists. The Indian system of medicine deserves special mention. Sir P. C. Ray has done a great service in writing a treatise on the origin and history of Indian chemistry.

The Ajanta school of painting and the Gandhara and the Mathura schools of sculpture still bear testimony to India's remarkable contribution in the field of fine arts. The dancing figure of the god Siva as Nataraja, dancing the cosmic dance, is indeed a master-piece of the world.

Empires have come and gone. But from the palmy days of Harappa and Mahenjo-Daro down to this Gandhian era, India's unique contribution continues almost unbroken.

LONG STAPLE COTTON CULTIVATION IN BENGAL

Its Present Condition

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

PERSONS interested in cotton cultivation are aware that the general impression among people and also of the Government Agricultural Department had been that Bengal was unfit for long-stapled cotton cultivation. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills by a series of experiments for several years succeeded in removing this wrong impression, when the Director, Technological Laboratory, Bombay, found the cotton produced by the D. C. Mills superior to similar cotton produced in other provinces in India. This encouraged the Mill Owners' Association, Bengal, and the Government to try its cultivation in different parts of Bengal. A scheme of work for 5 years at a cost of Rs. 20,000 financed half and half by the above two organisations, was adopted and the work began from 1938. The result was all along successful and this was confirmed by the Secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee, who visited some cotton centres in 1940. The Committee further helped the working of the scheme, by maintaining a cotton supervising officer for the last two years of the working of the scheme. He further undertook to work a full-fledged cotton botanical scheme in Bengal, as is done in other cotton-growing provinces in India.

The cotton scheme was extended for another 3 years in a modified form. Due to war conditions the Indian Central Cotton Committee did not do anything to help the cause. It may be said that Bengal pays a vast amount every year in the maintenance of the Committee in the form of cotton-cess paid by Mills in Bengal. The Committee, however, spends by Jacs for other provinces in India. The matter was represented to the Committee several times by the Managing Agent of the D. C. Mills, Mr. S. K. Basu, as Member of that Committee, but the matter was not taken up by them, mainly on the excuse that the working of the scheme did not appreciably increase the acreage in the province.

The working of the scheme has proved that cotton can grow in Bengal and that with profit, but there are many difficulties to overcome.

(1) The growers received their prices very late, sometimes after two years. The Mills do not purchase seed-cotton. Due to labour, staff, transport and ginning difficulties, the Agricultural Department through whom cotton is collected, ginned and sold, could not expedite matters. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, the main purchaser of all cotton produced under cotton scheme, began to purchase seed cotton in small quantity even by fractions of a maund, and arranged for ginning in their Mills and further paid premium over ordinary (current) prices of cotton. The Government could not help in despatching the cotton to the Mills immediately after harvesting, so the difficulties in receiving prompt payment continued.

(2) During war, growers like Bengal Farms and Industries Ltd., Badkulla (Nadia), Kumar S. C. Roy of

Bardhankuti (Dinajpur), etc., though realised 200 p.c. profit by cotton growing, abandoned the same, as they found vegetable growing for the army more profitable.

(3) The Agricultural Department selected sites of cultivation very late in the season, so also they are late in supplying seeds. Earnest growers like Khadi Pratishthan, All-India Spinners Association, Bengal, and other Farms and Organisations wanting to grow cotton outside the scheme had scarcely been supplied with seeds. In most such cases they had to depend on the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills for seeds.

(4) It may be mentioned that the Commercial Museum, Calcutta Corporation, helped the cause, by wide circulation of reprints they made from *The Modern Review* (June, 1941) of an article contributed by the Agricultural Officer of the D. C. Mills, Ltd., on "Long Stapled Cotton Cultivation" and also of the paper read by him in the meeting, dated, 28-1-38, where the scheme for cotton work was accepted by the Government and the Mill Owners Association, Bengal. For the success of the work it is necessary that organisations like the above, the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, other mills and organisations should come forward and help the cause.

The three years cotton scheme which had been working from 1943 was given up abruptly on 30-9-45 before expiry of the stipulated period of work i.e., up to March, 1946. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills strongly protested against this measure. It was however revived and a three years cotton extension scheme at a cost of Rs. 75,000 contributed by the Government of Bengal, has been working from 1946. With the working of this scheme, the management was transferred to new inexperienced hands. They did not this time take the help of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills in time, which had always helped them with selection of sites and growers. First year's work under this scheme 1946-47 was not satisfactory. In the second year of its work 1947-48, the management had much improved and there was appreciable increase in acreage, when partition of Bengal hampered the work. The area grown with cotton under the scheme with the help of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills at Bamangarh, near Fulbari railway station in P.S. Nawabgunj, Dist. East Dinajpur, though working under cotton scheme is not receiving supply of manures and cash money, provided in the scheme. The year 1947-48 is bad for cotton, as with other crops in Bengal. It is most regrettable that the West Bengal Agricultural Department, this time also, gave up the scheme abruptly from January 16, 1948. Under the cotton scheme they gave an undertaking to the growers to gin their cotton free and help them in their sale. By giving up the scheme before its stipulated working period up to March, 1948, they not only avoided their obligations to growers, but positively injured the cotton possibilities work by ceasing to collect seeds, so essential for future multiplication purpose. To get seeds from other

provinces in India is very difficult and no grower in Bengal is expected to supply cotton to Government, without receiving the above facilities provided in the scheme. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills have given an undertaking to growers to purchase seed-cotton in small quantities.

The Calcutta University at the instance of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills took up research work on cotton. Subsequently, they began working under a scheme financed by the Mill Owners Association, Bengal, at a cost of Rs. 12,000. Since inception of this work the University depend for cultivation solely on the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills and also for supply of seeds for their research work. The Bose Institute also has been carrying on "Breeding Investigations in long-stapled cotton" under a three years' scheme at a cost of Rs. 15,000 financed by the Government which expires this season 1947-48. By selfing and crossing they have evolved some useful types suitable for Bengal. The scheme of work unless extended for another few years, will leave the work unfinished. The results so far achieved are not serving any useful purpose for want of any co-ordinated action between the Institute and growers under

the Cotton Scheme. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills have, however, given them an undertaking to grow their promising hybrids and keep them informed of their performance under various field conditions. With this object in view, the Mills have selected for their working, a plot of land, near Fulea Station (Santipur), which is within easy reach from Calcutta and can often be supervised by the above two Institutions.

The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills for the last 15 years have been doing what is possible for a private organisation to help the cotton possibilities work in Bengal. The Government also by working under different schemes for the last ten years are convinced of its possibilities as will be evident from its different working reports. The Central Cotton Committee of India during their inspection in 1940 confirmed of this possibilities work.

It is a mystery why the above bodies are not taking up the work in all earnestness, without which improvement will be very late. With the division of Bengal, under two Governments, there is no knowing whether they will work on cotton next year.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE INDIAN MUTINEERS

A Study in the History of Political Institutions

By SATINDRA SINGH, M.A.

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THE Indian Mutiny¹ has been a popular subject with the historian, British and Indian. But so far he has essentially confined himself to the analysis of the causes or to the narration of the events of this "war of barbarism against barbarism." If a Kaye or a Malleston portrayed the atrocities of the Mutineers, an Edward Thompson or a Savarkar emphasised the "other side of the medal." One aspect of the subject has, however, been completely ignored. Not a word has been said about the Political Organisation of the Mutineers. The subject is important and deserves serious consideration. For, though the Mutineers failed to capture state-power, their scheme, crude and sketchy as it was, still remains the first plan for the political reconstruction of modern India.

We know very little about the organisation of the Mutineers, specially in the early period when the plans were being hatched. The reason for this "unknownableness" is quite obvious. The Mutineers, at first, worked under illegal conditions and therefore kept no records about the nature, function and the structure

of their secret organisation. History abounds with accounts of itinerant *Moultis* and *Fakirs*, *Pandits* and *Sanyasis*, the volunteer begging parties and the *Madaris*; and of the red lotuses and *chapatees* passed from village to village. Such accounts are often conjectural, seldom based on facts, and in no case do they present an adequate picture of the organisation. But there is no doubt that there existed such an organisation.²

3 V. D. Savarkar in his *Indian War of Independence 1857*, describes: "The Sepoys used to call together meetings secretly at night. All resolutions were passed in the general meetings, and all decisions passed in the inner circles were obeyed strictly and by all. When they used to come to the secret societies, they used to conceal their identity by covering their faces completely, leaving only their eyes uncovered, and then speak about the thousand and one oppressions committed in the country by the English. If any one of the members was suspected of telling the name of the conspirators to the enemy, he was immediately put to death. In order that common deliberations should take place between the various regiments, it was arranged that on festive occasions one regiment should invite another to a feast and, on this pretext, united gatherings were carried on successfully. Meetings of select Sepoys were held in the houses of the *Subahdars*. . . . The work of deciding all these things was left to the officers, and every one was made to swear . . . that each one would do what the regiment would undertake to do. When one regiment was bound together, the chief committee of that regiment began negotiations with the chief committee of another and they worked together. The mutual oath of the regiments, like the mutual oaths of the Sepoys were determined and decisive. Every regiment was a unit in the higher organisation." (Pp. 90-91). Mr. Wilson in his *The Defence of*

1 I use the word "Mutiny" because of the currency it has gained. I do not characterize this event as Mutiny. It was, in fact, a Peasant War both against indigenous landlordism and foreign capitalism. See my article, "Sociological Interpretation of Indian Mutiny" in the *Calcutta Review*, November, 1946.

2 Frank Bright: *History of England*, Period IV, page 528; quoted by R. C. Dutt: *India in the Victorian Age*: p. 224.

The Mutineers' Organisation was, in fact, a new growth, almost spontaneous. At any rate, it came into being through the efforts of the leaders of the struggle, most of whom came from the lower strata of life. The princes and the landlords who associated with the Mutineers, actively or passively, in the beginning, and betrayed the struggle in the middle, hardly constituted a factor in the making of this organisation.⁴

After the capture of Delhi the Mutineers issued a *Parwanah*⁵ outlining the political structure of the new State. Bahadur Shah was formally proclaimed the Emperor of India. A Court of Administration⁶ was to be the chief organ of the State. It was to consist of ten members. Six from the Army and four from the Civilian departments. The representation of the Army was again equally distributed among its three branches—the Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery. Members were elected by a majority vote from amongst "intelligent, wise, capable, experienced men who had also to their credit a record of past faithful services." The last condition is not wholly intelligible in view of the fact that few of the Mutineers had any past history to lay claims on past services. Perhaps, and one cannot be absolutely certain about this, it was exactly for this reason, that this condition was not made absolute. For it was specifically provided that the condition could be waived in case of really capable and intelligent persons.

Four members from the Civil side were also to be elected in the same manner by their respective (?) departments.⁷

One out of the ten members of the Court was to be elected President⁸ (*Sadr-i-Jalsa*) and another as Vice-President⁹ (*Naib Sadr-i-Jalsa*) by a majority vote. The President of the Court had two votes. Each of the remaining members was in charge of the department of the State he represented. He was assisted by a Committee of Four, elected in the same manner as the members of the Court. Each Committee had as many secretaries as it required. Proposals passed by a majority vote in a Committee were forwarded to the Court

through the member-in-charge.¹⁰ No specific mention was made as to the headship of the departments whose representatives on the Court were elected President and Vice-President. Presumably the President and the Vice-President were to be the heads of their departments in addition to their duties.

The King Bahadur Shah had the right to attend the sessions of the Court.¹¹ But this right was ineffective as he did not attend any such session.¹² No decision of the Court was enforceable in the realm without the signification of the King. A resolution of the Court disapproved by the King had to be re-considered by the Court.¹³ Legally, the final authority rested with the King. In actual practice, however, the Court resolved as they chose¹⁴ and compelled the King to affix his seal thereon. Bahadur Shah admitted in his defence statement¹⁵:

"As regards the orders under my seal and under my signatures, the facts are that from the day soldiery came and killed the European officers, and made me a prisoner, I remained so thereafter. They caused to be prepared all papers they thought fit, brought them to me and compelled me to affix my seal. Sometimes they brought the rough drafts of orders and had fair copies made by my secretary. While at others, they brought letters in original intended for despatch, and left their copies in my office. Hence several rough drafts in many different hands have been filed in the proceedings. Frequently they had my seal fixed on empty unaddressed envelopes. I neither knew the contents of the letters nor as to whom they were being sent . . . My life . . . being in danger, I could not do anything in the matter . . . They accused my servants . . . and Queen Zinet Mahall of being in league with the British. They even threatened to kill them and wanted me to hand over the Queen to them as a hostage."

At one occasion the King felt so "wearied and helpless that he resolved to relinquish the title of the Emperor (*Shahhenshah*) fraught with cares and troubles" and "to pass the remaining days in service acceptable to God."¹⁶ Once he even threatened to commit suicide by swallowing a diamond.¹⁷

Undoubtedly, the Mutineers' concept of the new state was derived from their inspiration of the

Lucknow, wrote: "From the available evidence I am quite convinced that . . . every regiment had a Committee of three; and this committee used to do everything connected with the Mutiny . . . The committee had to decide on all important schemes, to do all the correspondence, and several other things . . . The mutual agreements between the various regiments simply amounted to do what the other regiment would do." Also see Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. I, p. 365; *Narrative of the Indian Mutiny*, p. 5.

4 General McLeod Innes: *Lucknow and Oudh in Mutiny*, pp. 42, 291, 293; *Calcutta Review* (1858) p. 64; Holmes: *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, pp. 143, 458; Gubbins: *The Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 40; *General Orders, Despatches and Correspondence*, p. 297; also my article cited above.

5 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu) D| nil. *Vide* Press-List of Mutiny papers published by the Imperial Record Department, Government of India.

6 Their own words.

7 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu) D| nil, Rule No. 5.

8 Their own words.

9 Their own words.

10 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu) D| nil, Rules No. 3 and 11.

11 *Opp. Cited*.

12 *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, pp. 137-141. In his defence statement submitted to the Military Commission specially set up to try him in 1858, he said, "The Mutineers had established a Court in which all matters were deliberated upon, decisions taken. But I never took any part in their conferences."

13 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41 (Urdu) D| nil, Rule No. 7.

14 Prince Zaheer-Ud-Din alias Mirza Moghul wrote to the King that he had a talk with General Bakht Khan and other members of the Court, but they refused to accept His Majesty's proposals. Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 155 (Persian) D| nil.

15 *Vide* his defence statement: *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, pp. 137-140.

16 *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, Vol. 19, No. 21, dated May 24, 1857; also *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, pp. 134-35; quoted in full letter from the King to Mirza Moghul, dated nil.

17 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 260 (Persian), D| 9-8-1857.

Panchayats of the days gone by. In fact, that was the only political tradition they had inherited. They kept up the facades of the monarchy. But they were not prepared to allow the Emperor to wield any political power. The constitution was, therefore, made broad-based. Not that the masses were associated with political sovereignty, yet, it is evident that the authority was vested in the class—of peasant proprietors—which was becoming politically conscious. It is also true that the village *Panchayat* could not be revived, for, its socio-economic basis had been irreparably shaken. Nor to the revolutionaries was democracy anything more than the destruction of "privilege," and freedom of opportunity for their own class.

The Court held two kinds of sessions.¹⁸ The ordinary sessions were held for five hours each day in the Red Fort. Special sessions were held for the transaction of any urgent business.¹⁹

The Mutineers must have recognised the necessity of unanimity and expedition; and therefore, they provided the process of guillotine to safeguard against frivolous proposals. Thus an amendment to a proposal could not be moved without being supported by four out of ten members and the Court could always apply the guillotine after three speeches on the plea of urgency. As *Panchayat* spirit implied joint responsibility, the decisions taken in the absence of a minister were also applicable to his Department.²⁰

In all matters majority vote of the Court was absolutely essential.²¹

To maintain secrecy, the *Parwanah*²² ordained that none except the members of the Court could attend its meetings. Any disclosure, implicit or explicit, by any member without the authority of the President, was punishable by removal from the Court. The same punishment was prescribed for any act of cheating the State, or showing partiality towards a person or a body of persons.²³

The procedure formulated was neither comprehensive nor conformable to the parliamentary rules in any modern state. The Mutineers had no experience of parliamentary government, much less of drafting of procedural rules. All the same the underlying basis of the procedure seems to be the *Panchayat* spirit. It appears, as if it was devised primarily to satisfy the democratic instinct of the peasant-soldiers by establishing the supremacy of their own class whose socio-political organisation had always been the traditional *Panchayat*.

The Court of Administration enjoyed enormous Powers, conferred upon it by a Royal *Fireman*.²⁴ It was to administer the State, maintain peace and order, collect revenues from the sub-divisions, raise loans

from the *Mahajans*,²⁵ defend the realm and prosecute the war. The Emperor had promised the Court:

"In reference to you no representation of any party whatever will be heeded; and in all such orders as may emanate from your Court, none of the servants of the State, nor the Princes Royal will in any way interfere."

A *Parwanah*²⁶ dated the 8th August, 1857, the only one of its kind available, gives us a clue to the nature of business transacted by the Court. This *Parwanah* convened a special meeting of the Court the agenda for which included the problem of proper administration of the City of Delhi, better administration of supplies, more efficient upkeep of the army, better distribution of post and of raising loans from the *Mahajans*. The Court issued frequent orders and circulars to regulate the discipline of the Army, to suppress corruption, abuse of authority and rapacity.²⁷

Not only was the nature and extent of authority exercised by it wide and comprehensive, the Court was not prepared to tolerate any extraneous influences. In military matters, for instance, neither the King nor the Princes had any effective voice. In a letter, dated 26th June, 1857,²⁸ the King complained to his son, Mirza Moghal:

"Orders have been issued day after day to the officers of the cavalry to vacate the garden (?) but they have till now done nothing except make excuses and promises."

Again, in another letter²⁹:

"Formerly some troopers took up quarters in the Hayat Bakhsh and Mehtab gardens. Owing to the injury caused to these gardens through their stay, the troopers were made to quit on our orders. But now again nearly two hundred soldiers . . . are staying there . . . you are therefore, directed to speak to the members of the Court and have them removed."

On another occasion, he deplored that

his military officers had a "practice of coming into the Court carelessly dressed and in utter disregard to the forms of respect due to the Royalty. . . . They come galloping on their horses to places . . . which not even Nadir Shah nor Ahmed Shah nor any of the British Governor-Generals of India ever entered on horseback."

He cried in despair:

"Do the Army have the welfare of the State (Feudal-Moghal) at heart?"³⁰ The plight of the Princes was still worse. They could not wield any influence at all. In fact, the hopes of the princely order were being frustrated at every step by the "headstrong" and "insolent" soldiery.

24 Bundle No. 153, Foll. No. 12 (Persian), D| 19-8-57.

25 Indigenous banker, moneylender or broker.

26 Bundle No. 57, Foll. No. 285 (Urdu), D| 8-8-57.

27 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 9, 120 and 276 (Urdu), D| 13, 14

July and 8th August, 1857; also Bundle No. 57, Foll. No. 56 (Urdu), D| 3-7-57.

28 *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, p. 9.

29 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 195 (Persian), dated 23-7-1857.

30 *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, pp. 134-35; copy of an order from the King to Mirza Moghal, dated nil.

18 Bundle No. 57, Foll. Nos. 539-41, Rule No. 3 (Urdu), D| nil.

19 *Op. Cit.* Rule No. 3.

20 *Op. Cit.* Rule Nos. 8, 9 and 10.

21 *Op. Cit.* Rule No. 6.

22 *Op. Cit.* Rule Nos. 4 and 8.

23 *Op. Cit.* Rule Nos. 4 and 6.

Mirza Moghal, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mutineers' Army for the first few weeks, wrote to Bahadur Shah³¹:

"Your Majesty is aware that before (General) Bakht Khan³² came, active operations of war were carried on daily and without interference. Your Majesty also knows that since his arrival several engagements have been fought. Today when I went outside the city with my army to attack the enemy, the General interposed and kept for a long time the whole force standing inactive. He wanted to know under whose orders it had come out and commanded that it was not to proceed without his permission. He forced it to return."

The tussle which ensued between Mirza Moghal and General Bakht Khan³³ was not a case of personal bickerings. In fact, princely order could no longer place any confidence on the infantry.³⁴ The jealousy, strife and contest between the Prince and the revolutionary General was in fact a conflict between the dying aristocracy and the new forces of peasant-proprietor democracy. It was not surprising, therefore, that the feudal aristocracy very soon began to groan under the levelling influence of the revolutionaries and faltered in the midst of the struggle. "The *Shahzadas* . . . began to feel their condition perilous and tried to open negotiations (with the British)."³⁵

The Court maintained law and order.³⁶ It was the highest Judicial authority. It created Courts, appointed judges, and regulated judicial procedure for civil and criminal cases. The police as well as civil administration was appointed by the Court and was responsible to it.³⁷ It put down bribery and corruption amongst its officials.³⁸ The man in the street had the additional guarantee of being able to appeal to the Court in all cases of abuse of authority and oppression.³⁹

In the sphere of finance, too, the Court was supreme. Revenue officials were appointed by the Court and were responsible to it.⁴⁰ It alone had the authority to collect revenue.⁴¹ To liquidate *zemindari* system it gave proprietary rights to the tillers of land.⁴² From the Court orders, it is evident, that it had intended to overhaul the system of revenue assessment, but its authority was too short-lived to accomplish the task.

Dire necessity made the Court tax heavily. But one cannot lose sight of the fact that the incidence

of taxation fell almost entirely on the classes which could pay.⁴³ The law left the man in the street absolutely untouched.

None except the Court could raise loans on behalf of the new State. Officials were required to immediately forward to the Court any *Parwanah* received by them from any other quarters regarding raising of funds. They were also instructed not to arrest a person refusing to lend money without the summons of the Court.⁴⁴ Once when Mirza Sultan Khizr, a son of the Emperor, tried to raise funds on his own, the Court strongly protested and asked the King to warn the Princes.⁴⁵

As is well-known the Mutineers suffered constantly from financial bankruptcy and the consequent discontent among their ranks and the civil population. Even General Bakht Khan admitted in a letter to the King that owing to the irregular and insufficient payment, the army lived by loot and plunder which, he feared, might result in a civil war.⁴⁶ But when Mirza Moghal suggested to the Emperor that plenty of funds would be forthcoming if he were to allow his Royal officials instead of the agents of the Court to collect the money,⁴⁷ the Emperor refused to give his assent saying that the Court was the final authority.⁴⁸

It cannot, however, be denied that the Court was a miserable failure in the matter of raising loans. On the one hand, the propertied classes were frightened at the demands of the revolutionaries for the abolition of landlordism and on the other, the peasant-soldiers were unable to entertain any idea of nationalisation of land due to the nature of their class-origin. The *Mahajun* refused to lend money except under duress. He could not have any sense of security in a regime where the army lived by loot. Nor could he sympathise with the ideology of the soldiery. So, too, with the grocer who refused to sell his goods on credit to the new State which he knew was bankrupt.⁴⁹

Hoarding, profiteering and black-marketing reduced the people to miserable existence. Indeed, the Court made a heroic effort to save the State from an economic collapse. It fixed and controlled prices.⁵⁰ But in the absence of rationing, price control could never be successful.

The revolutionary State was very short-lived. Economic sabotage coupled with the conflict of political ideologies and economic interests between the landed

31 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 185 (Persian), D| 7-8-57.

32 General Bakht Khan was "Lord Governor Bahadur, Controller of all matters, civil and military." *Vide* King's order Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 25 (Persian), D| 7-8-57.

33 *Trial of Bahadur Shah*: Deputy-Judge, Advocate General and Government Prosecutor's address to the Military Commission, p. 149.

34 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 49 (Persian), D| 9-6-57.

35 J. Cave-Brown: *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857*, (1861), Vol. I, p. 140.

36 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 137 (Urdu), D| 10-7-57. Petition of the Members of the Court to the King.

37 *Op. Cit.*

38 *Op. Cit.*

39 *Op. Cit.*

40 Bundle No. 129, Foll. No. 6 (Urdu), D| 18-8-57.

41 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 137 (Urdu), D| 10-7-57.

42 *Op. Cit.*

43 Bundle No. 153, Foll. No. 6 (Persian), D| 28-7-57.

44 Bundle No. 129, Foll. No. 61 (Urdu), D| 18-8-1857.

45 Bundle No. 153, Foll. No. 17 (Persian), D| nil; Bundle No. 57, Foll. No. 532 (Persian), D| 19-8-1857.

46 Bundle No. 40, Foll. No. 297 (Urdu), D| 9-8-1857.

47 Bundle No. 199, Foll. No. 248 (Persian), D| 6-8-1857.

48 Bundle No. 153, Foll. No. 16 (Persian), D| nil.

49 Bundle No. 106, Foll. No. 20 (Urdu), D| 15-6-1557; Bundle No. 126, Foll. No. 20 (Urdu), D| 1-6-1857.

50 Bundle No. 129, Foll. Nos. 42, 49, 57, 79, 85, 100, 101 and 102 of various dates. Bundle No. 130, Foll. Nos. 5, 9, 17, 22, 25, 35, 51, 61, 67, 86, 90, 120, 121, 125, 150, 158, 171, 182, 188, 201 and 202 of various dates.

aristocracy and the peasant-soldiery, could not allow it to live longer than a year and a half.

Without an organised party bound together by ideological threads and having its roots among the people, such a struggle could never succeed. The leaders of the struggle visualised a state which was a magnified form of the old tribal *Panchayat*. Its social content was the institution of peasant-proprietorship instead of the old village commune. It failed because the peasant-in-uniform did not (from the nature of their class

origin could not) nationalise the means of production and distribution. The betrayal by the propertied classes which contributed no less to the defeat of the Mutineers was born out of the different notions about the formation of a new State and a new society. Only if there had been a common and clear ideal about the future social reconstruction of India before the people and a unified party to lead them for its realisation, we would have a different story to tell about the great Peasant War of 1857.

ABOLITION OF ZAMINDARIS

Chief Implications

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INTRODUCTION

THE future of the Zamindaris is almost sealed. Their existence is incompatible under the present conditions, both politically and socially. That the very motives, economic and political, which were perhaps at the back of the minds of the promoters of the Zamindari system or the Permanent Settlement under Lord Cornwallis were not realised or utterly defeated, is by itself a sufficient argument for their abolition long ago. But the question arises how to expedite their liquidation even at this stage in an orderly way.

CHIEF IMPLICATIONS OF ABOLITION OF ZAMINDARIS

The task of abolition of the estates is not so simple. For it is not merely a political question of scrapping the remnants or 'Feudalism' of the middle ages but it is essentially an economic and a social question. In the moral and the spiritual plane, it means a reassessment of values under altered conditions. It is not possible to build up a twentieth century economy on a eighteenth century land structure and therefore it is to be reckoned as the *raison d'etre* of the reconstruction and regeneration consequent of a planned development of the country. Some of the important issues involved in the abolition of the estates are briefly outlined under the following headings: (a) implications in the process of acquisition or abolition and (b) implications after abolition. They are taken up *seriatim*.

(a) *Implications in the Process of Acquisition or Abolition*: First, at the outset it is necessary to have a clear conception of the shibboleth of "Abolition of Zamindaris." Broadly speaking it means the liquidation of not merely the permanently settled or the temporarily settled estates but in essence the compulsory displacement of all non-ryotwari tenurial patterns in whichever form they exist at present in different parts and provinces. In a way its connotation may also be extended so as to include the parcellation of the big estates in the ryotwari areas making

some reasonable exception against acquisition of certain urban lands and properties. To begin with, let us restrict its meaning to the former interpretation.

Second, the measure must aim not at mere substitution of ryotwari settlement in place of the non-ryotwari settlements, nor the elimination of a few Zamindars at the top but in effect it must have as its objective the complete removal of all intermediary interests that exist between the State and the actual cultivator of land. Obviously the matter of determination of the respective rights of each out of all grades of tenure-holders and apportioning the sums to be paid as compensation for acquisition of their rights is full of complications, practical and otherwise.

Third, in all recent discussions on abolition of Zamindaris, the problem of indebtedness of Zamindars and encumbrances on the estates is missing or overlooked. By the uneconomic ways of living, wreckless and wasteful expenditure of the Zamindars, many of the estates are run over by heavy encumbrances, external and internal. In the process many were already disintegrated in the past, while a good number would have followed suit but for the Impartible Estates Act. The estates of the Chittoor district (Madras Province) are striking illustrations. The stories of the Karvetnagar Zamindari and the Kalahasti in the Chittoor district as well as that of the Polayavanam estate in the Tanjore district may be referred to in this connection, which have been completely or largely liquidated due to debts. It is gathered that the estate of Siripuram which is under the administration of the Court of Wards in the Madras Presidency is being proposed to be handed over to the Estatedar, for the estate was so heavily encumbered that the income of the estate may not be adequate to repay even the interest charges on the encumbrances of the estate. The inefficiency and at times the bankruptcy of the Zamindari administration are too well known. For instance, when the estate of Vizianagaram was taken over by the Court of Wards some time ago, the liabilities were found very heavy and the balance in the

estate-treasury had dwindled to small sums, the cash on hand in the Huzur Treasury being Rs. 0-2-9.* It is evident therefore that the acquisition of the encumbered estates and properties of the Zamindars and others by Government will be rendered difficult on legal grounds, unless due account is taken regarding the respective claims of the creditors concerned.

Fourth, under the Zamindari system of administration arrears of rents and their accumulation appear inevitable. The causes of arrears are the high rates of rent, absence of remissions, costly expenses of litigation, the practice of crediting rents paid or payments made for the current year against old arrears or dues, paucity of issuing individual pattas and absence of scaling down arrears effectively when they are found irrecoverable. It is interesting to note that considerable portions of arrears constitute amounts involved in litigation with the Zamindars. It is suggested by the Bengal Land Revenue Commission that all arrears of rents which can be checked by Government officials and are not time-barred may be scaled down to 50 per cent and the sums thus ascertained may be added to the amounts of compensation to be paid to the various grades of Zamindars and tenure-holders. In case of arrears payable by an inferior tenure-holder to his superior landlord, the amounts duly scaled down may be transferred to the superior landlords. All the amounts on account of arrears thus settled are payable to the Government in case of State purchase of the estates. But such a measure must take due note of remissions in estates when they were non-existent, amounts included due to litigation, etc., and cancellation of arrears if the economic condition of the persons concerned demand it before acquisition.

Fifth, acquisition of one set of rights to the total or partial exclusion of others will not yield the desired ends. Therefore, a measure of State acquisition of the estates should also include acquisition of rights in fisheries, mines, quarries, etc. It is a matter of common knowledge that sub-inefudation exists in leasing of fishing rights and a host of middlemen, between the revenue payer and the working company, all contending for royalties. The broad position in respect of mines and fisheries is as follows : Mines are the property of the estate in almost all the provinces except in the province of Bengal and Bihar. In Bengal in a few permanently settled estates coal belongs to the Zamindars and judicial decisions in the past confirmed the mineral rights to the Zamindar. As for fisheries, the rights in small rivers or in fisheries situated within the permanently settled estates belong to Zamindars or tenure-holders. But, however, the rights in the navigable rivers in some cases belong to Government and in others to the estate-dars.

Sixth is the question relating to financial considerations about State purchase of estates. Various estimates have been made by the Provincial Governments concerned regarding the costs of acquisition of the estates. According to the Flood Commission all estates in Bengal can

be liquidated at a cost of Rs. 78 to Rs. 137 crores spread over a period of 30 years. This sum is approximately equal to the cost of total capital outlay for construction of all irrigation works in India as a whole up to the year 1932-33. It is obvious that the cost of acquisition in one province alone is huge, though up-to-date estimates have to be made consistent with the position after the partition of Bengal. The estimated costs in different provinces for acquisition are Rs. 10 crores in Madras, Rs. 60 to 80 crores in Bihar, while in the U. P. it is about Rs. 100 crores.

The huge sums payable towards cost of acquisition, necessarily puts one to think seriously whether the provinces involved can afford to pay such amounts financially especially when there are many schemes by which measures harnessed to improve the conditions of agriculture as well as other activities with regard to national reconstruction are to be attended to for which the floating of loans is a matter more pressing than the expensive schemes of floating loans to buy up Zamindaris. Then again, supposing it is financially feasible, there is every possibility of its resulting as a cause for rack-renting the actual peasant by fresh taxation or for paying up the bloated sums of compensation amounts for the liquidation of loans to be raised for State acquisition. For instance, the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee observes regarding State purchase as follows (*vide* page 99 of the Report) :

"These schemes must fail, if for no other reason, by reason of the enormous financial operations involved . . . It would be impossible to recover even the interest charge on this loan without levying from the actual cultivators who would be left face to face with Government, something in the nature of a full rack-rent, so that as a result, neither the Government, nor the actual cultivator would be better off than at present."

Hence the cost of acquisition must be the minimum possible consistent with the principle of equity to the estate-dars. All the possibilities to achieve this end have to be fully explored and applied. In view of the existing high rents in Zamindaris, if a measure is enforced to reduce them to the level of rents obtained in the ryotwari areas, it will go a long way to reduce the amounts payable to estate-dars towards compensation. But it must be noted that if any reduction in the level of rents is contemplated it is important it must be made before acquisition of the estates, otherwise any reduction after State acquisition will result in financial loss unless the reduction in assets is balanced by enhancements of rent which are unduly low. From this viewpoint, the proposed measure in the Madras Province for reduction of rents on agricultural land in the estates is desirable.

(b) *Implications after Acquisition or Abolition* : The problems arising out of abolition of the estates are in fact far more important than those involved in their liquidation. Unless these issues are properly tackled and adequately solved the energies and attention devoted in this direction will not yield desired ends. In spite of the displacement

* Memorandum submitted by the Collector, Vizianagaram Estate, *vide* Land Holders' Statement, Part I of the Prakasam Committee Report, 1938.

of *estatedars* things may not lead to a rise in agricultural production and improvement in the economic conditions of the agrarian masses. Further, the new problems that will arise may render some of the existing ones still more complicated. The following, for example, are some of the questions that are to be faced immediately after abolition relating to the system of land tenure, distribution of land, the size of holdings, method of farming, system of inheritance or succession, unemployment, etc. If *Zamindaris* are to be abolished, by what sort of land settlement they are to be replaced—by *ryotwari* system with individual ownership of *patta* lands, or by the joint village community system or by a sort of omnipotent village co-operatives as suggested by Mr. B. N. Sirkar, in his Memorandum on "Food Problem" or by State farms? Are the present tenants of the *estatedars* to be given immediately *pattas* of the lands in full or in part they cultivate, or the issue of *pattas* is to be subjected to confirmation (cf., the suggestion of Probationary Tenure) after a lapse of a short period during which the competence of the persons as good farmers can be tested? What shall be the scales of preferences and priorities to be adopted in conferring *patta* lands to different grades and classes of agriculturists? The matter of the determination of the minimum sizes of holdings in different regions in accordance with soil fertility, nature of crops grown, other factors and local conditions as well as the consolidation of fragments found short of the prescribed minimum must be reckoned as equally important and difficult as the question of distribution of land. Above all these considerations, measures to raise output from land, reduce costs of production and make the work on the farm less strenuous to the head of the family characteristic of an improved system of agriculture have to be harnessed to bring about a marked improvement in the wealth and welfare of the farmers. To achieve this end, the principle of co-operative action in all the chief agricultural operations, credit,

marketing as well as in actual operation of land has to be clearly recognised and enforced. In this respect it is necessary to adopt not only some system of joint farming or co-operative farming according to the suitability of each in different areas but even collectivist and State farming have to be tried to appraise their results in an unbiased way before brushing them aside *a priori* as unsuitable to Indian conditions.

Finally, what provision has to be made about those who are directly dependent on the *estatedars* or who are employed as servants, or in some capacity or other, who shall be naturally thrown out of sustenance when the estates are to be done away with? Similarly, what course is to be adopted in case of institutions or individuals of art, literature or religion who have been wholly or partly supported or rewarded by some of the well-known houses of the *Rajahs* and *Maharajahs* since very ancient times? Last but not least is the all important question of the agricultural labourer, whether he be a casual day labourer or farm servant, which is evidently out of the picture in all the above discussions. It is true that the question of agricultural labourer is by itself a sufficiently big and knotty one and it may be therefore argued in some quarters that it should not be mixed up here with the question of abolition of *Zamindaris*. There is no doubt some force in this contention but to maintain that nothing is possible in this context to alleviate the condition of the much important and the much neglected agricultural labour is an 'escapist-philosophy', if not absurd.

These are some of the weighty problems which cannot be discussed at length in a short space. They have to be carefully considered to find out appropriate solutions in a highly practical and constructive spirit rather than being led away by one's impulses and the heat and fervour of one's ideologies, if at all things are to take their shape in a peaceful and non-violent way.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

DIVIDED INDIA: By Robert Aura Smith. McGraw Hill Company, New York, 1946. Price 3 Dollars.

Topical, frank and charming—this is a typically American publication. The author, a young American political journalist, outlines and to some extent discusses the broad features of the Indian political situation during the last decade and brings out the struggles of nationalism in India particularly since the beginning of the world war. Professedly pro-

British, the author believes that a balanced and objective analysis of the subject would form a valuable contribution to better understanding between Britons and Americans.

The plan of the analysis is striking and logical. The author discusses, first, what he calls the fixed elements of the Indian situation, the demand of the Indians for political changes, the British commitment to withdrawal and insistence upon orderly processes, and the mutual distrust of the Indian communities. He then proceeds to analyse the various elements of division, between Moderates and Extremists, between

States and Provinces, and between Hindus and Muslims. His emphasis is placed in this analysis on the dominant role that religion plays in the life of the people in India and on the great obstacles to constitutional growth that lie in the differing social structures and political philosophies of the Hindus and the Muslims. He deals at length with the question of Pakistan from the viewpoints of the Muslim demand for a separate state, the Hindu hostility and the British reaction. He discusses in one separate chapter the question of a possible civil war, in the course of which he makes observations which are both interesting and thought-provoking. In the last section he discusses the constitutional proposals made by the Cabinet Mission in May 1946 and the problem of forming an interim government, rounding off the whole discussion with a dramatic, one might say prophetic, remark, "This was the situation as India moved towards the drafting of a constitution for her independent statehood. The very proximity of the great changes had sharpened rather than assuaged animosities. India had reason to hope for the future. But it was a divided India that approached it".

There is a lot in the book with which it would be easy and quite justified to disagree. But the author's argument in the book is fundamentally sound. Even his assessment of the major influences at work upon the situation, is quite accurate. He says, "As the Muslim League has gained in strength, its position has become progressively more intransigent. But this is, in fact, a vicious circle. It was the popular appeal of the prejudicial slogans embodied in the Pakistan idea that had given the Muslim League its strength. From that strength came forth, in turn, stronger and stronger demands. Any refusal to grant them could be turned into more slogans. In a sense the League was caught in the momentum of its own success and took progressively more and more advanced positions from which retreat became more and more difficult."

The author argues that the usual Liberal observations on the division of Hindus and Muslims are a case of over-simplified rationalism. "It has often been presumed that the difference is solely one of religion and that if there were any reasonable degree of religious tolerance in the two communities the differences could be readily resolved. This does not correspond to the facts in the case. The religious difference between the two communities is important because it serves as a mode of self-identification". In a similar way the Sikhs developed a consciousness of their own identity to a very high degree, and thus added a further complication by, for instance, claiming the Punjab as inalienably their homeland, their holyland.

Analysing the factors of strength on the two sides in the case of a possible civil war, the author concludes that "from the point of view of resources, both in manpower and materials, the Hindu group is essentially stronger". As the provoker is in the nature of things the Muslim, the author thinks that a civil war may not take place at all. Should, however, a civil war break out, "the ultimate picture that emerges is one of a long, difficult, fratricidal war on a thousand small battle-fronts in which the total superiority of the Hindus would eventually make itself felt."

It is obvious that the book under review is a most stimulating study. Although written and published over a year ago before the partition of the country was decided upon and before the communal riots and the wholesale migration of populations became an

accomplished fact, it is nevertheless highly engrossing in its interest.

BOOL CHAND

OUR HERITAGE: By Humayun Kabir. The National Informations and Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 4.

"The story of Indian culture is one of continuity, synthesis and enrichment". With these words Mr. Kabir sets himself the task of interpreting Indian culture in the light of the prolonged and rich synthesis which it represents. From time immemorial this ancient land has been the meeting place of various races and peoples with conflicting ideologies, who have rendered Indian pre-history remarkable by their great achievements. Horde after horde of invaders have come to this land, lived and got fused with its existing culture, and ultimately got acclimatised to the soil. What is called Indian culture is a rich amalgam of the contributions of all these people with the existing culture of the country. The synthesising process underlying Indian culture is emphasised by Mr. Kabir. A few other historians are also drawing our attention to this rather neglected aspect of our culture. According to Dr. B. N. Datta, "Indian culture is one" and "India is one and has always been one".

But the difficulty came with the advent of Islam. Here was a culture unique and individual in many respects, militant, democratic and realistic, and in a sense, an antithesis of the other-worldliness of the Hindu culture. It was therefore not easily to be assimilated. But as Mr. Kabir has shown, assimilated it was, to deny which is to deny the very vital urge which constitutes the dynamism of a living culture, to disown the very process of acculturation. Mr. Kabir has very well shown that the medieval warfare in which the Muslims and Hindus were so frequently engaged were fought on political issues, and could not prevent the two peoples from coming near culturally, from meeting, mingling, and becoming children of the soil. Here Mr. Kabir's masterly analysis of the socio-political background is very illuminating.

Civilisation, it must be noted, is a process, a becoming. The finest expression of it can be found in art, architecture, music and literature. In this field, Mr. Kabir's analysis is very interesting, showing as it does, the valuable record of synthesis achieved in this respect by the two cultures. According to Mr. D. P. Mukherjee, Indian culture has assimilated more from Islam than from the West. This, at least, is certain, says Mr. Kabir, that Islam has affected Indian culture sufficiently intensively and extensively in spite of political convulsions and revolutions of time. Civilisation, we are told, progresses through the media of imitation, adaptation and invention. This is how Indian culture also has made headway, as Mr. Kabir has shown. He has illustrated his thesis with reference to art, architecture, music, literature, manners and morals, and even religion. Among the many products of synthesis, he points out Samkara philosophy. Vaishnavism may, as he claims, be said to have imbibed something from Islam, but it is doubtful if Samkara has. Samkara's zeal, fervour, astuteness, absolute monism and repudiation of duality, he suggests, might have been imbibed from Islam. Islam, of course, had changed the religious outlook of India in other cases, but there is nothing in Samkara which was not already present in Hindu-Buddhist culture. (Vide, in this connection, Samkara and Islam by Roma Choudhury, *Modern Review*, February, 1946).

The British intervened now with their peculiar

culture and caused, by its great impact, great revaluations of old values, throwing India once more into a ferment. Conflicting ideologies have made India once more a battlefield and it is through this conflict, concludes the author, will emerge the future India.

Mr. Kabir's interpretation is penetrating and brilliant. His analysis of the modern ferment is highly illuminating, specially, his note on the emergence of the middle class, with its various stratifications, with its discontent, snobbery, aggressiveness and critical spirit. "We are today witnessing a silent revolution taking place before our very eyes", he says, and he has, with a true historical vision, analysed the causes and the character of this revolution. Indian history is apt to be misrepresented and misunderstood. This book is an extremely valuable contribution towards dispelling the confusion which exists in many minds regarding the true character of Indian history. It is the most needful book of the hour, lucid, scholarly, brilliant and revealing.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE.

NATIONALISM AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY : By Dr. Lanka Sundaram. Rajkamal Publications, Delhi. Pp. 119. Price Rs. 3.

The author of this book in four chapters examines the meaning of Free Trade in the evolution of modern Imperialism and comes to the conclusion that all propaganda for Free Trade by big nations is for the exploitation of economically weak nations. As soon as Free Trade policy hits the national interest nations take to 'Imperial Preference', 'Trade Agreements', 'Bilateral Trade Treaties', 'Quota System' and such other devices as suit their purpose. The author originally an internationalist, examines thoroughly the theories and practices of Free Trade so far as these relate to and react upon Indian National economy and rightly concludes that India's welfare lies in Protection of her national industries. India has been bled white by two hundred years of British free trade and it is for her very life and existence India shall have to turn to a thoroughly protectionist policy. And this is possible for an independent India. India very soon will be in a position to adjust her economy to the world order outside behind a tariff wall as has been done by all nations including U.S.A.

The book is a straight reply to the free traders of this country who repeat the voice of their Western masters and as such deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

DRAMAS OF KALIDASA: (Translated into English): By Mrs. Bela Bose, B.A. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5-4.

POEMS OF KALIDASA: (Rendered into English verse): By M. C. Dutt. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Price 5-4.

The Kitabistan of Allahabad which has to its credit the publication of a good number of important and interesting works is to be congratulated for its latest feat in bringing within the easy reach of the reading public, through these two handy volumes, the complete works of Kalidasa in an English garb. It is true, different works of this prince of Indian poets renowned and respected all over the world have been translated and published by different scholars at different times. But few of these are easily accessible. Besides, the contribution of Indian scholars in making the works of this and other poets of ancient India known to the world at large is very small. Herein

lies the value and special significance of the work done by Mrs. Bose and Mr. Dutt. The critical eye of a scholar may discern occasional inaccuracies in the translations or in the explanatory notes that followed them, but on the whole the volumes will be delightful reading to the general reader.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

BENGALI

HE VEER PURNO KARO : By Manmatha Kumar Choudhury. To be had of D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

Sri Manmatha Kumar Chowdhury, though a new entrant in the domain of Bengali dramatic literature has, by the publication of his dramas, made himself well-known in the literary circle of Bengal, within a very short period. *He Veer Purno Karo* is a drama. The theme of the book is based on our National Movement of the past few years during which Bengal has been passing through the most critical period in her history. The last world war has totally upset the structure of our socio-economic life and has created such abnormal conditions that we are put to crucial test and are confronted with extreme difficulties in every sphere of life. But all these sufferings and agonies have strengthened our determination for the complete liberation of our motherland from foreign yoke. Shankara is the symbol of young Bengal, inspired with revolutionary spirit. He could not, however, fulfil his life's mission and died a premature death due to overwork for the cause of his motherland. But will his seat remain vacant? Will it not be occupied by some other great hero who won't stop till the goal is reached? This is the central idea around which the story of the drama is interwoven. In near future, the theme of the drama will, perhaps, be a thing of the past but its appeal to the human heart will, nevertheless, remain the same. It will, in course of time, lose its propaganda value. But that is simply its outward garb. It has got other qualities which are essential for a successful drama. Manmatha Kumar's greatest skill is in dialogue writing. It is imbued with emotion but free from all exaggerations and melodramatic outbursts.

NALANI KUMAR BHADRA.

NIRJAN MAN: By Dr. Nagendra Nath Chattopadhyaya, M.Sc., M.B., B.S. Preface by Dr. Girindra Sekhar Bose. Sanskriti Baithak, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 2-8.

Mind is a mysterious thing, if it can be called a thing at all. Immense are its freaks and boundlessly varied its desires. Psychologists say that no action or behaviour of human beings is without a meaning; it has its roots in the mind and is prompted by them though the doer himself may be unaware of this. They have gone deep in their study of mind and found two layers, to use a geological term, beyond the conscious mind. These have been termed 'Sub-conscious' and 'Unconscious'. The title of the present volume means Unconscious Mind. The book contains ten articles on various aspects, peculiarities, diseases, foibles of mind e.g., Fear and Anxiety, Obsessional Neurosis, Day-dreams, Mind of Women, Conjugal Life, Anguish, Death, etc.—all written in a crystal clear style and with irresistible attraction for the curious reader who is often joyously inclined to peep into his own mind and gauge its workings. Associated with the Mental Hospital—'Lumbini Kanan'—as a physician the author has had the unique opportunity of studying mentally

deranged patients at close quarters. His articles are consequently enlivened with touches of reality.

Books on psycho-analysis and mind are not many in number in Bengali. But a language to meet the demand of a cultured society of the modern world must be varied and rich in all branches of knowledge. Hence the need of books from the author who is fortunate to have a facile pen which makes his writings, even on abstract subjects, pieces of literature. The book, we are sure, will be much appreciated by Bengali intelligentsia.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA.

CYCLEY PASCHIM ASIA : By Mr. Kshitish Chandra Banerjee (*Globe-trotter*). Published by the author from Garia, 24-Parganas. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 2-8.

This volume covers the author's travels in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Turkey— all Muslim countries of Western Asia. The author in his fascinating style depicts the new life that is vibrating all through the Near East. Another feature of this change is that in all these countries religion is being treated as something which has nothing to do with the State. These Muslim States so long considered to be strongholds of conservatism are now imitating Europe almost blindly and the old order is breaking down everywhere. Turkey has abolished the Khilafat, the borkha, the fez and the Arabic script and has secularized the State completely. The other countries are following suit slowly but surely. Indian Muslims have to learn much from these countries, who are no less Muslims.

This book of travel is recommended to the Bengali Muslims who consider themselves Muslims first and Indians afterwards. The book will serve as an eye-opener to our Muslim brothers who look upon these countries as their own in preference to their Hindu neighbours.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

RAS SAGAR : By Sagar Nizami. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Pp. 100. Price Rs. 6.

The book under review is a collection of some sweet and inspiring lyrical poems by the leading Urdu poet of the new generation, S. J. Sagar Nizami. Rich in thought and delicacy, Sagar has endeared himself to the lovers of poetry. His poetry is delightful because of its wealth of music and sweetness. He has hunted romance in huts, streets, bazars, temples and mosques and put the tales of the commoner into lasting songs—songs, which are emotional flushes from his singing heart. Music of today and dreams of tomorrow are the enchanting notes of Sagar's poetry. We heartily welcome Sagar in the fold of Hindi and congratulate the publishers for bringing out such a beautiful collection in Nagri script.

M. S. SENGAR

RAHMAN KA BETA : By Vishnu Prabhakar. Nava-yuga Sahitya Sadan Indore. Pp. 209. Price Rs. 2-8.

Shri Prabhakar is a pre-eminent short-story writer in present-day Hindi literature. His outlook on life is intensely human, while his attitude to his country is akin to that of Cowper: "With all thy faults I love thee still." His pen has a camera-like quality on the one hand, as it is a pointer to the significance and spirit of men and

mice, so to speak, on the other. The present collection of his nineteen patriotic stories is contemporary Indian history writ in characters warm and vigorous with life. His language is free from the smell of cloistered study. Shri Prabhakar richly deserves to be better and more widely known through a translation of a selection of his best stories in different languages.

DHRUVA-CHARITA : By Suryadeva Mishra. Dikshit Publishing House, Benares. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 3.

A miniature epic of the epic character of Dhruva, in twelve cantos composed in the strain and severity of Sanskrit metre in all its variety. As one reads it aloud, —and all poetry must be read aloud to be adequately appreciated—one seems to hear an echo of an ancient song, sung in the sylvan shade of an *ashrama*; and as one lays down the book one feels like Amal in Rabindranath Tagore's *Post-office*, "I shall ask the king when he comes to show me the Pole Star." *Dhruva-Charita* is a character-building tonic, indeed. Shri Laldhar Tripathi Pravasi has contributed a critical appreciation of the poem.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ITHIASNI KEDI : By Bhogilal J. Sandesara. Published by Padmaja Prakashan, Baroda, 1945. Thick card-board. Pp. 200 + 8. Price Rs. 4-8.

The "Foot-track of History" is a collection of select writings of the noted Gujarati scholar of research in the medieval history and literature of Gujarat. They treat of aeroplanes in ancient India, and of the famous Library (Jain) Bhandars of Patan and of Patan itself and other similar matters. Each contribution is implemented by documentary evidence. Altogether it furnishes an important link in the chain of the history of medieval Gujarat.

SAHITYA PARAMARSHA : Edited by Durga Shankar K. Shastri and others. Published by the Vile Parle Sahitya Sabha, Bombay Suburban District, 1945. Thick Card-Board. Pp. 195. Price Rs. 3-8.

The Vile Parle Sahitya Sabha celebrated its Silver Jubilee in 1945 with great eclat. Noted literary writers helped in celebrating the happy occasion, and literary contributions on various important subjects by about fifteen authors forms one part of this useful compilation. The other part, called "Majal", gives in a succinct form the activities of the Sabha during the twenty-seven years of its existence, and is ably written by Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt. Altogether it is a creditable contribution to the present literature of Gujarat.

AKSHARANE SHABDA : By Keshavram Kashiram Shastri. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1945. Card-board Cover. Pp. 416. Price Rs. 4.

The Gujarat Sahitya Sabha has done well in publishing the writings of Mr. K. K. Shastri in book form. In 25 sections he treats this technical subject in all its aspects, dividing it into three main topics: *Bhasha-Vyakaran*, *Lipi Vichar*, *Jodani* (spelling) *Vichar*. For every statement made, he has quoted chapter and verse. It shows an amount of research, study and assiduity.

K. M. J.



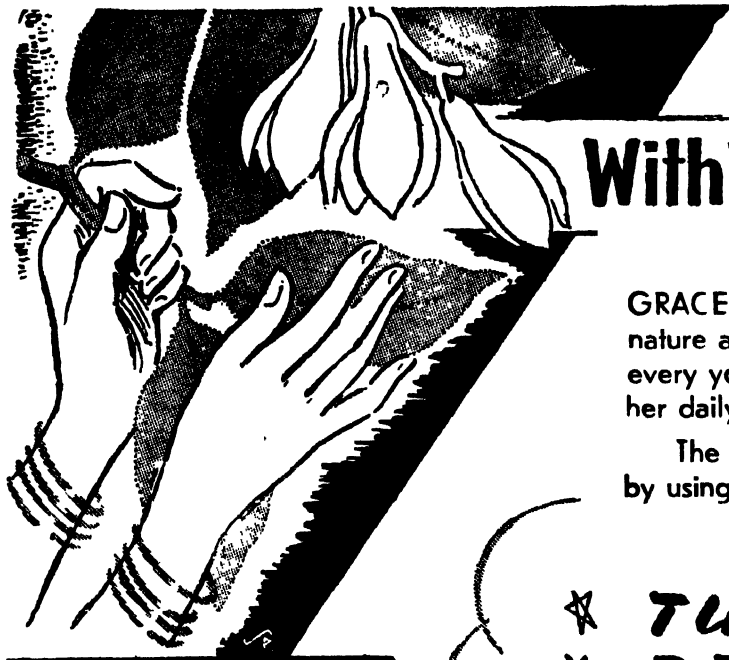
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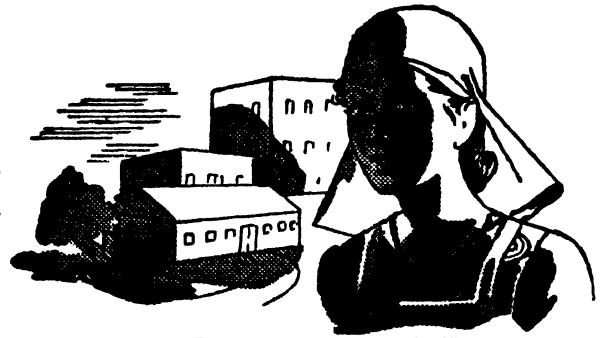
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Eternal India

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially :

India today is vital, awake, and free. In spite of her poverty and degradation, in spite of the blood and shame which cover her face, in spite of her political bisection and communal wrangles, she is dynamic and full of promise. If after a passivity of centuries India is again creative and going to assert her rightful place in the vanguard of nations, it is principally due to the fundamental unity of her progress and not to anything that she might have borrowed from other countries. Let not India mistake this vitality to be just an expression of her political revival. It springs from a deeper well. Even the assertion of her political nationhood is an expression of her cultural resurgence.

The national ideals of India are Renunciation and Service.

The vedic *rishis*, fathers of our culture, who realized the divinity of man and spanned all diversity by their vision of unity, also pointed out the way to the goal. It is by service alone that we can claim the right to be served, and it is renunciation which confers immortality upon us. Matter must be employed in the service of Spirit. Even enjoyment cannot be had without renunciation. *Tena tyaktena bhunjitha ma gridha kasyasiddham* : Enjoy through renunciation and do not covet anybody's possessions.

The sleeping leviathan is awake from her age-long slumber. India is out to conquer the world and deluge it with her ideas. Despite political bisection, trisection, or even multisection, India is one and will be one. She will heal the discords that trouble her, many of which are the legacy of an alien rule. More than that, she will provide the spiritual mortar for holding together the elements of a global civilization in a grand harmony. Has she not taught always that it is one world, one life, one mind and above all, one Self?

Two ideas which have dominated the political thought of our times since the beginning of the nineteenth century are the ideas of nationalism (including political democracy) and socialism.

Of these two, the first idea was all powerful for about a century, so much so that historians and even philosophers thought that the establishment of a sovereign national state was the one and final goal of all peoples and races. The more powerful and modern idea in the political field today is that of socialism which looks beyond national frontiers and aims at an economic goal. The vital element in the idea of nationalism was the desire of different peoples to develop and express themselves in their own way. This historical necessity made it all-conquering against all its opponents. But when nations utilized the strength of their political organizations not for self-expression but for plunder, the idea came up against its antithesis. That is the real cause of its fading out.

Economic justice for all, especially for the masses, is the root-idea of socialism. Economic democracy is its goal. But if it does not strictly confine itself to the field specially its own and seeks to achieve its aim by the denial of liberty and the spiritual goal of man, it will simply be buried by those whom it undertook to bury. An idea pursued beyond the point of its significance becomes a delusion.

At this critical hour when India is free to choose her line of action in the national as well as the international field and when conflicting ideologies claim exclusive allegiance of the mind, a tremendous responsibility rests upon the shoulders of her leaders.

India : From Subjection to Freedom

Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

A new era in British Indian history is opened as the fruit of a century of effort and struggle and it will go down as the most outstanding event in living memory.

There is, however, a shadow over our rejoicings, a sadness in our hearts, for the independence we dreamt of and fought for has not come to us. Such is the perversity of things that the Swaraj of our dreams at the moment of its attainment has slipped through our fingers. A divided India will continue to be dependent, unless the two Dominions establish friendly relations and work for common interests. The extent of our disappointment is reflected in the satisfaction of the diehard Tories in England. While Churchill characterised the Cabinet Mission report as a 'melancholy document' and the declaration to quit as a 'scuttle' from India, he gave enthusiastic support to the present plan, thus indicating that it implements the Conservative policy for India.

At a time when the States of the world are moving towards large groups we are throwing away the one advantage of political and economic unity which British rule brought to this country. When the new conditions demand economic planning on a continental scale, we are reverting to a divided India. Whether India will be safer with two armies than with one remains to be seen.

If our leaders graciously took up the responsibility for the decision to divide the country, it is because they found no alternative acceptable to the different parties.

By a succession of acts of surrender we found ourselves in a position from which division was the only way out.

We have had Englishmen of different varieties, Englishmen who came here for a hundred different reasons—priests and nuns, merchants and adventurers, soldiers and diplomats, statesmen and idealists. They marched and fought in it, bought and sold in it, plotted and profited in it. But the greatest of them wished to raise India's social and economic standards

and political status. The small-minded among them worked with sinister objectives. When separate communal electorates were conceded, Lady Minto referred to a letter received from an important official, "I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened today, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." These electorates intensified communal consciousness and created such an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility as to rouse the demand for Pakistan. Cripps' proposals made Pakistan possible and the Muslims naturally inferred that the British would support their proposal. While the Cabinet Mission rejected the demand for Pakistan it made extensive concession to it by limiting the powers of the Centre and proposing sections and groups. The Congress declaration that they will not force a constitution on any unwilling part of the country encouraged the League in its determination to demand a division of the country into Muslim and non-Muslim zones. There has never been a government known to history which did not at times use compulsion to ensure the co-operation of the recalcitrant. When the southern American States demanded independence, the right to govern themselves, Abraham Lincoln at the cost of one of the bloodiest wars known to history denied that right on the ground that, if it were granted, democracy in the new world would be too divided to defend itself. But the Congress, pledged to the principle of non-violence, cannot use force in evolving national solidarity. The statement of 20th February, 1947, suggested that the British Government would transfer power to some form of Central Government or in certain areas to the existing provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people. The present plan is the natural outcome of these developments. Past encouragement by the British and weakness of our leaders proved too strong for friendly agreements.

Educating India

The New Review observes :

At the Delhi session of the Central Advisory Board of Education, the future of our schools was adumbrated. Pandit Nehru wanted the whole basis to be revolutionised, but he left to educators and educationists the care of planning a revolutionary and effective system. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the minister for education, stressed two leading points. The first was that English cannot remain the medium of instruction; the change, however, should be gradual, and could not well be imposed within five years though universities should provide for the change. The second point referred to religious education. Two committees of the Board had already tackled the problem but had failed to come to a unanimous solution. Yet a solution must be found.

"If national education was devoid of this element (religion), there would be no appreciation of moral values or moulding of character in human lives...It is obvious that millions of Indians are not prepared to see that their children are brought up in an irreligious atmosphere. What will happen if the Government undertake to impart purely secular education? Naturally people will try to provide

religious education through private sources. How these private sources are working to-day or are likely to work in future is already known to you...Not only in the villages but in cities the imparting of religious education is entrusted to teachers who though literate are not educated. To them religion means nothing but bigotry...It is necessary for us not to leave the imparting of early religious education to private sources. We should rather take it under our direct care and supervision...A national government cannot divest itself of this responsibility. To mould the growing minds of the nation on right lines is its primary duty. In India we cannot have an intellectual mould without religion."

In the pagan atmosphere of the modern world, it is refreshing to hear a minister stressing the importance of spiritual education, and it does great honour to India that the statement was not contradicted by the most revolutionary members of the Board. There are, however, serious obstacles to the implementation of so noble a programme. Undoubtedly lawyers will negotiate the first. According to the draft constitution, India is to be a secular state, without any official or officially recognised religion. The Government will claim no authority in religious matters, except to prevent anybody from endangering public peace and order, even under religious pretext. How could then the state decide what is genuine religion, frame a programme of religious studies and approve text-books? How could the Government accommodate all the religions of India without going beyond its statutory competence, since these religious beliefs are different and occasionally contradictory?

The way out of the difficulty is to go back to fundamentals. The Irish Constitution is the clearest on such fundamentals. In its art. 42, it states :

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"The State acknowledges that the primary and natural educator of the child is the family, and guarantees to respect the inalienable right and duty of parents to provide according to their means the religious and moral, intellectual, physical and social education of their children....Parents shall be free to provide this education in their home or in private schools or in schools recognised or established by the State."

Once this principle of natural law and democratic liberty is admitted, provision must be made in India for various religious types of schools corresponding to the various cultural groups. The schools themselves, and not only the religious courses, should be different since the most modern educationists agree that the 'educational environment' fashions the type of schools, and all know that the 'occasional teaching' is often more decisive than the humdrum syllabus. Ireland as well as Holland have shown the way out; provided schools comply with definite conditions of hygiene, programme, staff-qualifications, private schools are put on the same footing as state-schools for grants-in-aid and examinations. This is certainly the most satisfactory solution; it will suit the many cultural groups in the country, and respect private initiative which has already played so noble a part in Indian education. None other can be thought of unless the Congress Governments enter the way of totalitarianism and don the solemn gown of divinity dictatorship.

Defence

Defence against aggression by foreign enemies and against internal troubles is one of the main functions of the Government of any sovereign country. *Science and Culture* writes editorially :

It is well to remember that hitherto defence of India was only part of the defence of the farflung British Empire, and with the attainment of independence, India is thrown severely on her own legs. Let us see how far we are able to organize defence under present conditions. What do we require for defence in a modern world? We require army, navy, and airforce. But only experienced generals, trained officers and well-drilled soldiers would not do; we must arm them with weapons and equipments in all the three arms of defence, including not only guns,

and rifles, explosives, warships, army telephones, but also since the first World War, tanks and aeroplanes, and as the last war has shown, wireless equipments, radars, and dozens of other items.

Have we the means of producing these equipments in our own country, and getting the trained man-power for handling these arms and scientific equipments?

As far as our knowledge of Ordnance Factories in this country goes, India can produce guns up to a certain bore, small arms like rifles, certain amount of explosives but the production figures and expenditure are under veils of secrecy. It is well known and therefore we are betraying no secret when we say that we do not produce a single tank, aeroplane, wireless set, automobile, armoured or civil, and we have no source worth mentioning of petrol without which no modern war is possible, and many of the chemicals essential for explosive have to be got from abroad. Even in peacetime the U. S. A. has put a ban on the export of radars, and on many essential scientific apparatus, and probably the United Kingdom will also follow suit, and probably in case of war even with small powers they can put effective bans on the export of tanks, aeroplanes, petrol and what not?

It is therefore obvious that we are helpless in case of aggression by a major modern power like U. S. A., U. K., or Russia and will continue to be so until our industrial production rises to a capacity commensurate with the size and natural resources of this country. This may take another 25 to 50 years or we may never attain to this stage at all, according to the capacity, will and efficiency of our Government.

But it is well to remember that not only we are incapable of organizing any but moral defence against any great power; in other words, if these powers want to commit aggression we can only protest; but it is not realized that our powers of defence against trouble-shooters within our own country, or in the areas immediately surrounding us, are not very great, on account of

- (i) our extremely low industrial capacity, and
- (ii) the vacuum created in the defence organizations by the departure of the British.

We have before us some material giving us the organization and activity of Indian Ordnance Factories. They are capable, as mentioned before, only of producing small arms like rifles, and guns up to a certain bore, and some explosives. For heavier arms



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and newer arms like tanks, aeroplanes, the defence department has made not the slightest attempt within the last 25 years, as they ought to have done, to start any production centre in India, and has not even cared to start any shops or when started, to maintain such shops to the requisite level of efficiency for repair of large quantities of modern war materials, which were stored in India for military purpose during the war-years. This was, of course, a part of the Imperial Policy.

But this is only a part of the picture. We have further to remember that under the old imperial policy, the Indian Ordnance Factories were organized in a very peculiar and inefficient way which is being continued. Take for example, the manufacture of guns, howitzers and mortars. The barrels of these weapons are cast in the Ishopore *Metal and Steel Factory*, they are machined and bored in the Cossipore *Gun and Shell Factory* (both in the suburbs of Calcutta), but for being mounted on carriages, they are sent to the Jubbulpore *Gun and Carriage Factory* on a 700-mile railway journey. After being mounted, they are sent to the office of the Superintendent of Proof and Experiment at Balasore, another six hundred miles of railway journey. When they had passed the test, they were distributed in different armouries. The same is the story with respect to the manufacture of shells, bombs and explosives.

All these round-about arrangements would be regarded as extremely costly, and superfluous in any country, but this is not all. There has not been, as far as our information goes, any design and research section for arms anywhere in India. Drawings of arms to be manufactured used to be supplied from England, and production used to be carried on here, under the supervision of British managers and superintendents, who had served as foremen or mechanics in the British arms factories, by bodies of Indian foremen, mechanics and other skilled labour.

There was a complete dichotomy between the brain and the hand, in conformity to the practices of caste-ridden India, which the British Imperialists have learnt to use to their own advantage.

There is further a complete hush-hush over military expenditure. We do not know if any of the Ministers of the present Indian Government including the Defence Minister and his Indian staff has cared to know about the total budget of these armament factories, and their annual production. Our information is that in spite of huge expenditure, production has gone down dangerously low. Systematic investigation is necessary to find out not only these figures, but also to find out the percentage of rejections which, we are informed, is too high in spite of the fact that during the war, very up-to-date and modern machinery have been installed in all the factories.

We would be failing in our duty if we did not point out that the armaments production factories have been the training grounds for a large number of Indian foremen, mechanics, and other skilled hands and thus we have a reserve of trained labour which, under competent management, can be serviceable not only for manufacture of war materials but for much useful peacetime industries. But the top men are mostly British, and there is not, according to our knowledge and information, much difference in mental calibre and necessary accomplishments between these and their subordinate Indian foremen, for except

for the Inspectorate Branch, the British Government did not care to send their top men in production factories to this country, as the object was to evolve designs in the U. K., and keep them there. In other words, the production factories are working according to the rule of thumb, but guidance being now unavailable from Britain, the factories are without brain-centres which should be created immediately. Further, the large number of dismissals of temporary hands have created a very bad psychology amongst the Indian employees which ought to be removed by skilful handling.

These are some of the points which occur to us, but others would be found if systematic enquiry be made by a competent committee which we think should be immediately appointed. We suggest the following terms of reference for the Committee.

1. To place Indian Nationals in all positions of trust and responsibility in all the production factories, testing and proof inspectorates.

- At present, all responsible heads of armament factories happen to be non-Indian Nationals. For obvious reasons, they should not be continued in these positions. If they are found possessed of proper qualifications, they can be reappointed only as experts, under Indian heads.

2. To reclassify and recoordinate all production factories in accordance with the changed political conditions.

3. To advise on the starting of new production factories for manufacture of planes, tanks, large calibre guns, and other weapons and scientific equipments, at present not manufactured in India.

4. To recommend measures for reorganization of the factories on the basis of modern methods of industrial efficiency.

5. To set up a brains-centre for the armament factories in the form of research and development sections, and to recommend measures for bringing into existence new scientific establishments under this section for development of new arms like radar, rocket projectiles, atomic weapons, etc.

6. To recommend new training centres for the training of personnel, and for operational research.

7. To consider the starting of factories for the manufacture of synthetic petrol, other essential metals, chemicals and alloys without which it is not possible to carry on a modern war.

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The Congress Aims

The National Christian Council Review observes :

We print here-below a resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee on the new aims and objectives which the Congress should have in view, now that freedom has been attained.

The All-India Congress Committee welcomes the elimination of foreign rule in India and the establishment of a Free and Independent State and a Government responsible to the people of the country. The achievement of freedom is the culmination of the long struggle of the Indian National Congress and the outcome of the sufferings and tribulations of the people. Freedom brings responsibility and new burdens and problems. The freedom achieved was not the kind that the Congress had envisaged during its long history. It has been accompanied by secession of parts of the country and disasters of unparalleled magnitude. Hardly was Free India born when a grave crisis overtook it and events happened which have besmirched her fair name and brought death and desolation to vast numbers of innocent people in circumstances too tragic for words. There has been arson, loot and murder on a mass scale in West Punjab, N.-W.F. Province, Baluchistan, East Punjab and adjoining areas. The Committee cannot find words strong enough to condemn the inhuman acts by whatever community perpetrated. It extends its sympathy to all those who have been the innocent victims of this colossal tragedy.

At this moment of crisis, it is necessary that the Congress should declare its faith and policy in clear terms and that the people, as well as the Government, should follow that policy unswervingly. Even though the Congress agreed to a division of the country in the hope, which has so far proved vain that thereby internal conflicts might cease, it never accepted the theory that there are two or more nations in India. It has firmly believed in the whole of India as a nation bound together by indissoluble cultural and historical links which have been further strengthened in the course of the national struggle for freedom. It was on the basis of this faith that the Congress grew up as a national institution open to all Indians without difference of creed or religion. India is a land of many religions and many races and must remain so. Nevertheless India has been, and is, a country with fundamental unity and the aim of the Congress has been to develop this great country as a whole as a Democratic Secular State where all citizens enjoy full rights and are equally entitled to the protection of the State irrespective of the religion to which they belong. The Constituent Assembly has accepted this as the basic principle of the constitution. This lays on every Indian the obligation to honour it.

The Congress wants to assure the minorities in India that it will continue to protect, to the best of its ability, their citizenship rights against aggression. The Central Government, as well as the Provincial Governments must accordingly make every effort to create conditions wherein all minorities and all citizens have security and opportunity for progress. All citizens must also on their part, not only share in the benefits of freedom but shoulder the burdens and responsibility which accompany it, and must, above all, be loyal to India.

The All-India Congress Committee calls upon all Congressmen and the people of India to adhere strictly to those well-established principles of the Congress and not to allow themselves to be diverted into wrong channels by passion or prejudice or by the tragic events that have happened. The real good and progress of India have yet to be achieved and this can only be done by adhering to the ideals and policy of the Congress and discarding and exposing all false doctrines, which have done so much mischief to India and her people.

We call attention to one phrase in the above mentioned resolution, and it is 'a Democratic Secular State.' The Congress rightly aims at developing this country of ours into a Democratic Secular State. We are glad that the word 'democratic' has been used, in preference to the word 'republic.' 'A republic' need not necessarily be a democratic state. For example, Soviet Russia though a Republic will be claimed by few as being a Democratic State. We are therefore happy that the ideal of a Democracy appears conspicuously in the resolution of the A.-I.-C.-C.

Pakistan has been attempting to evolve a fully Islamic State, but we are glad that the Indian Dominion lays down definitely that the India shall be a *secular* state. We appreciate the motives that underlie the deliberate use of this expression. In a land full of so many religions and races, the State cannot but be secular if all its citizens are to enjoy full rights and protection, irrespective of the religion to which they belong.

Nevertheless, there is an implication of the word 'secular' which will not be readily acceptable. The philosophy of a Secular State has been the cause of many a disaster in the world, and it has finally resulted in the use of the Atom Bomb. A Secular State if it is to be one hundred per cent secular, can have no soul. We in India are a religious-minded people, and to us to clear-cut separation of the Church and State cannot have much meaning. We do hope that the Congress will always keep this point in mind, while trying to maintain a secular state. Righteousness alone exalteth a nation and a complete divorce between Religion and State will not be in our true interests.

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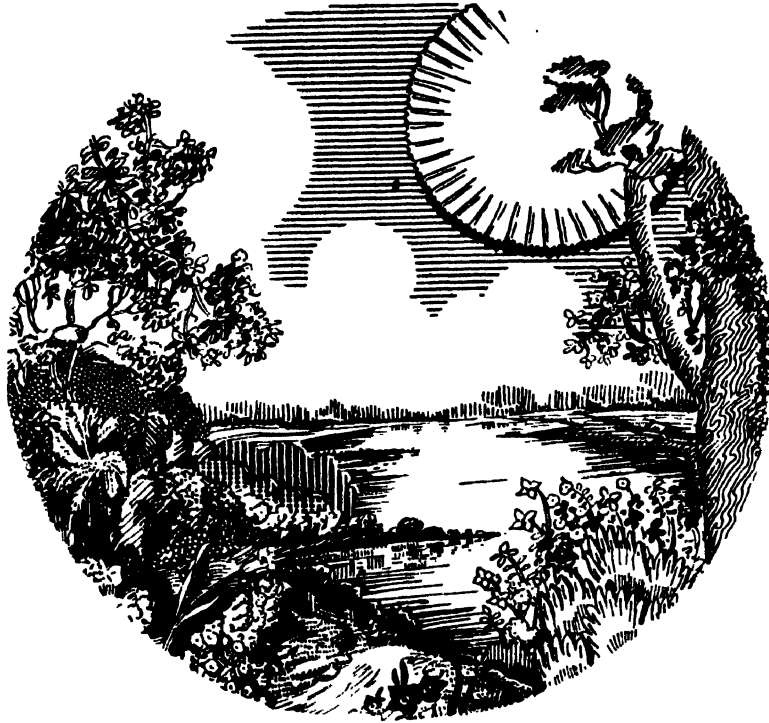
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Theodore Parker and the Socializing of Religion

R. Lester Mondale writes in *Unity* that the world and specially the Americans need a Theodore Parker to-day as they have never needed him before :

Americans in the ranks of liberal religion need Theodore Parker today as they have never needed him before—even when he was alive and in the heat of his battle for the socializing of religion one hundred years ago. We need his help to enable us to see beyond the pathetically superficial social philosophy so many have in mind today when they think of the part religion ought to play in the reforming of the old and the building of the new. This superficial social philosophy is merely a superficial reaction against superficial orthodox religion. In orthodox religion the chief concern of the priest and preacher was the saving of the immortal soul of the individual man, woman, or child from eternal agony in hell. Whether this person was raised in a slum home by drunken parents, whether he was a cotton field slave, whether in early childhood he was chained to a Lancashire loom or made to work in a Newcastle mineshaft, whether he could read and think and enjoy the fireside glow in the chill of the year, whether he died of tuberculosis or was slaughtered on a battle field was relatively unimportant compared to the saving of his soul and his achievement of the bliss of a place where he could spend all eternity gazing on golden paving blocks and hearing the ceaseless blowing of trumpets and chanting of choirs. Rebelling against this inhumane religious philosophy of "pie in the skies" the average emancipated religious liberal, who is far from as emancipated and as liberal as he imagines he is, still thinks in terms of mansions in heaven—he merely transfers the old and naive mansions-in-heaven idea to this life and this world. Giving people heavenly mansions in this life, by reforming society, is the chief concern of liberal religion, he now insists. Churches must line up with Socialism, says one; the capitalistic exploitation of the proletariat has become unbearable and now, that people have nothing but chains to lose, is the time to strike. Churches must line up with the consumers' co-operative movement; co-operation is the only alternative to totalitarianism. Churches must become pacifist societies. Churches must become anti-saloon societies, anti-anti-Semitic societies, anti-Fascist societies, Townsend societies.

Certainly a liberal church must be concerned with the question of the rights of women and with the rights of children, with consumer co-operation, with war and with peace and with anti-Semitism; but to just what extent is the liberal church a reform society? And why is it interested in reform?

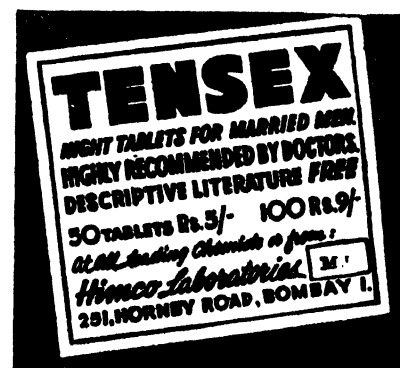
In Theodore Parker we find one whose liberalism was not merely orthodoxy turned inside out, not merely a revolt against the pie-in-the-skies idea, and not merely a crusade for pie in the here and now.

His liberalism and his religion went back to the summer day in 1814 when he was but a four-year-old child, playing at the edge of that delightful brook which runs between the low-lying hills

past the Parker ancestral farm home several miles out of Lexington, Massachusetts. He remembered distinctly putting his eyes on a beautiful spotted turtle, pulled up at the edge of a pool and sunning himself. Immediately he raised his arm to strike the sleeping creature. And then—here are his own words: "But all at once something checked my little arm, and a voice within me said, clear and loud, 'It is wrong'." He hurried home to his grey-haired mother—he was her eleventh child and she was now fifty-one years of age—told her what had happened, and asked her what it was that so distinctly told him that it was wrong to strike the turtle. She took him in her arms tenderly and said:

"Some men call it conscience, but I prefer to call it the voice of God in the soul of man. If you listen and obey it, then it will speak clearer and clearer, and clearer, and always guide you right; but, if you turn a deaf ear or disobey, then it will fade out little by little, and leave you all in the dark, and without a guide. Your life depends upon heeding this little voice."

Here, on the one hand, was the impulse to strike the sleeping turtle, to wantonly annoy, to inflict pain, to destroy—this was wrong. But here, on the other hand, was the opposite, the voice of something that was like the nature of his tender mother and his strong kindly father. Here within was something beautiful and tender, something trying to do for all creatures what the mother and father love was doing for him—smiling on him and on all creatures and causing them to fall in love with life. Thus it was vividly clear to Theodore Parker from his earliest childhood that life, and everything that made life worthwhile, was merely the growth and unfoldment of this tenderness which had restrained his arms and which he came to see not only in his mother and father but in the world about him, singing with the frogs in the spring, flashing in the fluttering of the butterfly, glowing in the wild rose, and shining forth in the sun and the stars. Thus to be alive in the sense of being alive to the inspiration of misty hills, to the cool fresh breath of early morning, to the warmth of a friend, to the profound meanings of a book, yes, and to be alive to the shivering of little children in ragged garments, and to the degradation of humanity in the ignoble cowering and cringing of the slave—this was not only being truly alive, it was being truly religious.



It was giving expression to the Infinite, to the only God we can really know.

And years later, years which saw him buying his first book, a Latin dictionary, with the proceeds from his blueberry picking, years which saw the death of his mother when he was but fourteen, years which saw the struggle of this rugged Socrates-faced, country lad plowing on his father's farm and at the same time teaching school, and reading, reading, reading all hours of the day and night—years later it was the tenderness, the warmth, the singing, the beauty, the greatness I have been talking about which a dark-eyed, quiet but wonderfully affectionate young woman by the name of Miss Lydia Cabot sensed in the young Parker and fell in love with. Presently he was writing her what to our eyes is, of course, a perfect description of the marvellous expansion of life that goes with the continuous unfoldment of the divine within us: "I love my books the more, my school the more, mankind the more, and even God the more, from loving you." Before they could be married, however, the rustic young Parker had to put in four years of studying, teaching in elementary schools, working as a non-resident student in Harvard, and then candidating here and there in Unitarian churches. He candidated an entire year before he found a church which would take him. They were somewhat afraid of his farmer-boy appearance and almost mortally afraid of his intellectuality—it was positively over-awing. He was not only versed in the Latin classics by this time, he was also reading in Greek and Hebrew and was devouring whole tomes of the new scholarly enlightenment in Germany; and he was also reading in Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Arabic, Persian, Coptic and Russian, and was dabbling in some African dialects. Finally after having endeared himself to two small Unitarian congregations he was called to a larger one, West Roxbury, near Boston. And then came the wedding, and the notation made in his Journal: A solemn promise, (which he always kept), "to bear her burdens, to overlook her foibles, to love, cherish, and ever defend her . . ." And thus he wrote to a friend: "I know that two souls made one by love, can laugh at time and space and live united for ever."

Going into the West Roxbury pulpit Theodore Parker went not as one who is merely in revolt against the old-time religion, or as one who would make his church into a reform society to provide everyone on earth with pie—he went there merely to carry on the glorious work of trying to do for others what that tender and beautiful something in his own heart and in his mother and father and in the world about him had done in his own life. But at that time the Unitarians had become fearfully smug, and Channing himself had begun to complain about the appearance of a "Unitarian orthodoxy." Unitarian ministers crammed their sermons with such words as "salvation," "miracles," "revelation," "Christ the Redeemer." What did they mean by these terms? Parker with his first-hand religion was disgusted with these meaningless and pious mouthings. He described the minister who parroted these words: "Annoyed dulness, arrayed in canonicals, his lesson duly conned, presses the consecrated cushions of the pulpit and pours forth weekly his impotent drone, to be blest with bland praises so long as he disturbs not respectable iniquity slumbering in his pew, nor touches the actual sign of the time, nor treads an inch beyond the beaten path of the Church."

In 1841 at an ordination ceremony in South Boston, Parker gave full vent to his ideas in his rousing sermon, "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity."

The permanent and real in Christianity, he said with the authority of a prophet, was not the Bible, not the person of Jesus, (Christianity could get along without Jesus), not miracles—the real thing was the moral law within.

Theodore Parker, from the time he had run from the turtle to his mother's arms, had had an ever-increasingly clearer idea of the moral law within—and now he had the writings of the greatest of the German philosophers, Immanuel Kant, to verify his own personal experience. But what did the Unitarians, or any other church people of 1841 know about a moral law within or about Immanuel Kant? They knew only about a king on a throne, dictating his laws to Moses and to Jesus, judging the quick and the dead, and sending them to heaven and hell. Worse than this, Parker had thrown his vast scholarly resources into the defense of that young heretic, who had so disturbed the Harvard Divinity School and Boston in 1838—Ralph Waldo Emerson. Moreover, Parker had been seen time and again with Emerson and Thoreau and Alcott at Brook Farm, a communist experiment. Consequently, no Unitarian minister dared to invite him as guest speaker: one had, and he had lost his job. What place was there for Parker in Unitarian ranks when Doctor Frothingham, the high-priest of Unitarianism, now that Channing was dead, held that it was in bad taste even to mention in the pulpit anything as secular as a Beethoven Sonata?

Then came the heresy trial. The Unitarian Ministers' Association invited Parker to a tea at which Doctor Frothingham was to preside. The pompous Frothingham opened up on the friendless farmer-boy Parker: he had introduced discord into the Unitarian body; he had written a heretical book, and in the heretical magazine of the Transcendentalists, *The Dial*, had called his fellow ministers "Pharisees." Then Mr. Gannett, now occupying Channing's pulpit, chimed in: "I hope God Almighty will forgive him . . . I can never grasp him by the hand again cordially." And other criticisms: Parker was not a Christian, not a Unitarian; he compromised the Unitarian Association. How about his withdrawing? Completely poised and calm, Parker took up each criticism in turn, put it under his high-powered mental microscope, described its flaws, and gently tore it to pieces as only a great scholar was capable of doing. No. He had not the slightest intention of withdrawing. If the Association wished to expel him that was their privilege. Three hours of this. Then a former Harvard classmate, Cyrus Bartol, rose to speak and Bartol spoke warmly of Parker's sincerity and his goodness. Then Mr. Gannett arose and, to the surprise of all, said that he wished to second Bartol's

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remarks about Parker's sincerity and goodness. And then a minister by the name of Chandler Robbins, an arch conservative, rose; he began to enlarge upon the sympathy he felt for Parker on this occasion and to express the affection he had for him. This was too much for Parker. Tears began to stream from his eyes; he jumped to his feet and rushed out, only to be met by Doctor Frothingham who caught his hand and wrung it and assured him of his personal esteem. And that was the ending of our one and only Unitarian heresy trial.

There were Unitarian liberals who objected to the fact that Parker was never invited to speak from a Boston pulpit. Consequently, a number of these liberals met in January of 1845, and passed this resolution, "That the Reverend Theodore Parker shall have a chance to be heard in Boston". After an affectionate parting in Roxbury from his parishioners who were so enamoured with the goodness of his heart that they could not be bothered by the heresies of his mind, Parker went to Boston, where, in what was called the Melodeon, they held the first meeting of this the newly-formed twenty-eighth Congregational Church of Boston, and where before a packed auditorium Theodore Parker preached his own installation sermon.

Parker soon had a library of thousands of volumes, the largest personal library in America,—large sections on the literature and history and philosophy of Greece and Rome and the ancient world generally, the latest philosophical and historical and Bible-criticism tomes from Germany, from France. Anthropology, geology, biology, he handled as a specialist. He was talking and writing and preaching evolution years before Darwin came out with his *Origin of Species* in 1859. Even the best lawyers and judges of the times spoke with the greatest of circumspection in his presence because they knew that they were with one who was practically an authority on law, and not just on American law. After the German revolution of 1848 it was to Parker, the one American scholar they really knew, that the refugee scholars wrote for information and advice. Thus his published sermons are not only scholarly but are packed with information. But it was far more than information that the seven thousand persons who signed the membership register of his church found in them. They found the spirit of that something, so beautiful, so tender, so creative which had commanded the child Parker to withhold hitting the turtle, going out to them, calling them to awaken to a new life, to be alive to the beauty and joy of their own physical bodies, to the beauty of ocean shore and New England hill, to the meanings in books, and to the shivering of little children in thin ragged clothes. This was the voice of God, this was the life of God, and it did not need any Bible or miracle to prove it so.

In Boston, Parker found man's inhumanity to man on every hand, and to remain silent in the face of inhumanity meant destroying the very life-giving principle in him and in the world.

How could he remain alive, mentally alive; emotionally alive, physically alive unless he felt he was giving expression to that something in his mother and in his father and in the grandeur of the world which had meant everything to him? He cried to his vast congregation:

"See the unnatural disparity in man's condition, bloated opulence and starving penury in the same street. See the pauperism, want, licentiousness, intemperance, and crime in the midst of us; see the havoc made of woman; see the poor deserted by their elder brother, while it is their sweat which enriches your ground, builds your railroads, and piles up your costly houses."

With their eyes and their hearts opened Parker's hearers began to express the new life he awakened in them in a great wave of humanitarian reform . . . a society to give wayward girls decent employment, prison reform, insane hospital reform, slavery reform.

In 1860 he was dead of tuberculosis, dead at least twenty years before his time (born 1810). But in that comparatively short life he had demonstrated conclusively how truly liberal religion is not just a means of building here on earth substitutes for mansions in the sweet by-and-by, but an expression in our homes, in our friendships, in our cities of that something which commanded the little arm to forbear striking the sleeping turtle, of that same something in his father and mother which nurtured him, of that same something in the world of nature which constantly inspired him, and which commanded his response: "Gentlemen, this committee can appoint me to no duty which I will not perform." And so, the final summons from the infinite order of things brought from him no fear and no regrets, only the words: "When I see the inevitable, I fall in love with it."

Untouchability—General Smuts' Taunts

The Editorial comment of *Pratinidhi*, Nairobi, January 1947, deserves serious attention of the Hindu community:

In defending South Africa's policy of anti-Asiatic legislation General Smuts sarcastically criticised the treatment accorded to untouchables and depressed classes in India. Mahatma Gandhi replied to this in an article in *Harijan*. Mahatmaji rightly pointed out that Indian's statutory laws place no restrictions on the so-called untouchables and that the members of the scheduled classes can rise to the highest position in society. It is, unfortunately, the social and religious customs of the orthodox Hindus, says the Mahatma, that are responsible for untouchability in India, and the day is not far off when untouchability shall have been abolished completely.

THE RISING TIDE OF REFORM

We strongly uphold the views expressed by Mahatma Gandhi. Orthodoxy shall have to loosen its hold before the rising tide of reform. How heartening the news is that the forces of reform in Madras, the stronghold of orthodoxy, are already on the move. Legislation purporting to throw open the gates of all temples in Madras is being introduced in the province's Legislature.

NO RELIGIOUS SANCTION FOR IT

In fact the reformed Hinduism of modern times is becoming absolutely intolerant of the curse of untouchability. The very idea of human being treated as unworthy of touch and association is repugnant to the higher conception of Hinduism, and carries no religious sanction with it. The Vedas, the sacred books of all Hindus and Aryas, do not sanction it, nor can this inhuman and unmoral institution be maintained on the authority of Hindu Shastras, Upanishadas, Bhagavatgita and Manusmriti etc. In an oft-quoted mantra the Veda proclaims:—

"O men, remember that you are equal. You should have wells, water works and baths in common; you should prepare your food conjointly and sit for dinner together; there should be no reservation in your travelling carriages and cars and other means of conveyance. God ordains that you should remain

united like spokes of a wheel in the novel, you should perform your yajna conjointly and mutually do good to each other."

BASIS OF SOCIETY

All the old scriptures of the Hindus abound in similar quotations which explicitly ordain that society must be founded on equality for all men, according to their qualifications and attainments. There is in the Vedas and scriptures no such thing as untouchability due to birth. All men are entitled to become the members of a progressive society in accordance with their worth and character.

Rishi Dayananda was dead against any differential or preferential treatment being given owing to the birth of any person in a high or low Varna (caste or profession). According to him, the Varna-Vyavastha rested on Guna, Karma, and Svabhava (quality, action and temperament) and not on birth.

Sjt. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the greatest scholars of Hindu Shastras, in his learned preface of the Gita, while interpreting the verse :-

चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः (गीता पृ० ४)

has made it quite clear that in Vedic times the constitution of the four Varnas was a sort of division of labour.

The late Dr. Pandya of the training college for men, in his famous book, *Education in the Baroda State*, has stated that beginning from the Vedic times to the advent of Magasthenes there was no sign of untouchability in India.

The present state of Hindu society basing Varna Vyavastha on birth and not on merit, is of recent date due to ignorance of the Vedas. The result is the whole machinery of Hindu society has become disorganised. It cannot be organised and made to work out its high ideals unless and until untouchability due to birth is abolished root and branch, and depressed classes are given full rights of social, religious and political equality with caste Hindus.

Arya Samaj Foundation Day

Pratinidhi of Nairobi, March, 1947, thus comments on the message of Arya Samaj to the Hindu nation :

This memorable day falls on the 23rd of March. We pay our homage to Maharshi Dayanand, the illustrious founder of this body.

This is the day when we have to review our achievements of the last year. Arya Samaj, in India,

and fought it to victory. We congratulate the Arya Samaj this heroic deed. But are we to remain satisfied with this? Nay, a great amount of task still awaits us. Caste-system based on birth has played havoc on the advancement and solidarity of the Hindu nation. It is due to the continuance of this pernicious practice that unequal marriages are performed and the lives of countless couples are ruined for no fault of theirs. In this colony, we are starting afresh. People have been compelled to marry their children here but still they have not been strong enough to break through the "caste-fold." To our great shock our talks centre round Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya. It will, really, be an epoch-making event in the history of this young colony if a so-called Brahmin father ventures to give away the hand of his daughter to a deserving non-Brahmin youngman or vice-versa. An example in this direction will go a long way to drive deep the message of Arya Samaj into the hearts of Colonial Indians.



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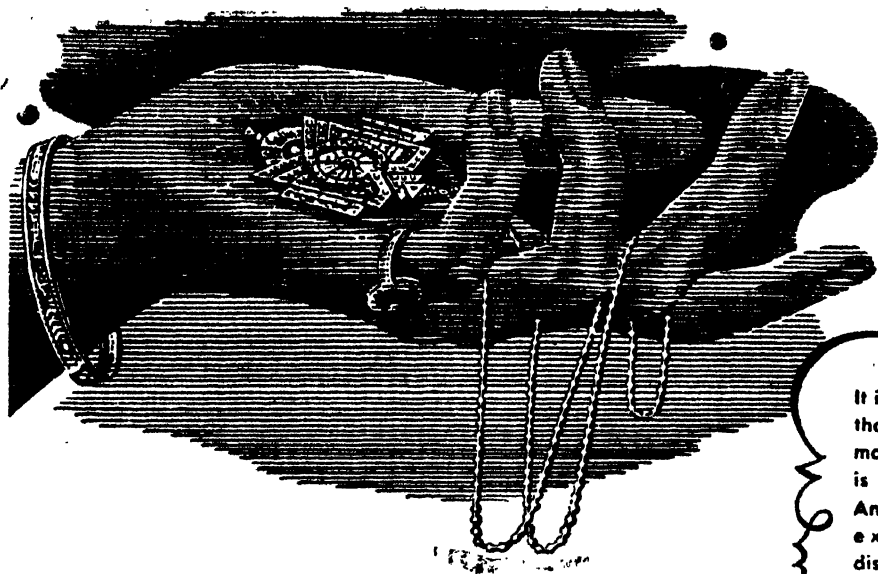
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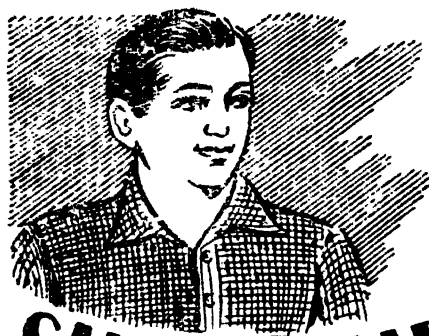
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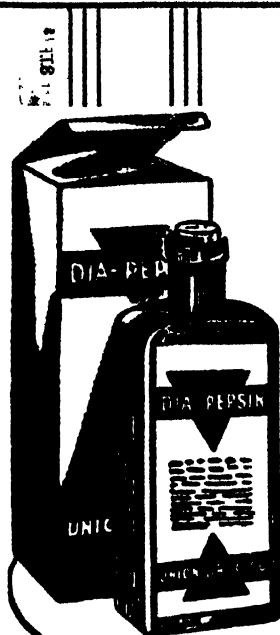
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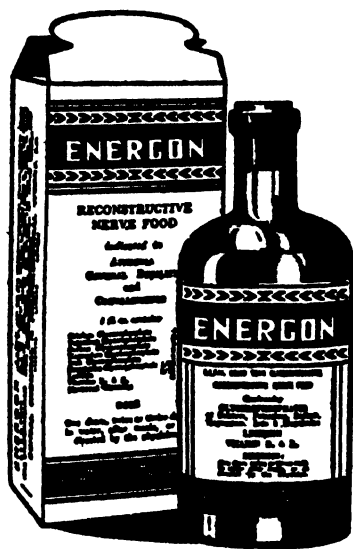
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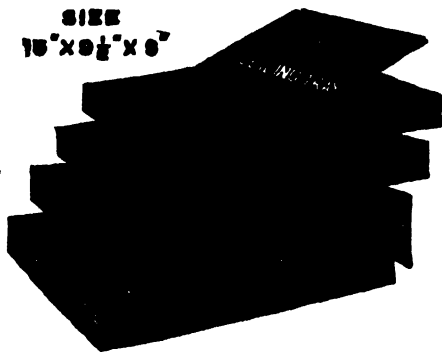
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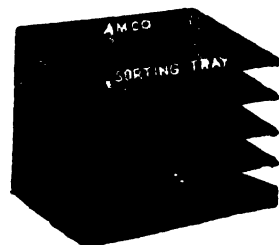
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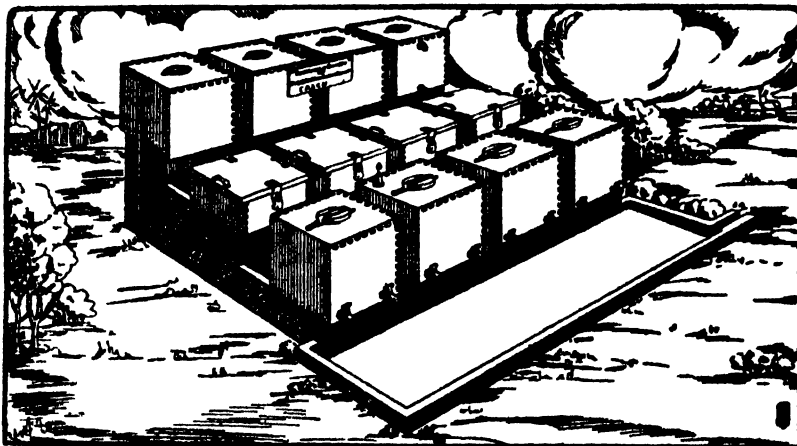
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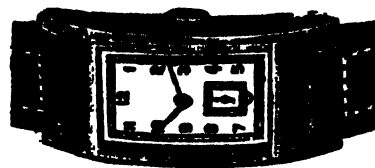
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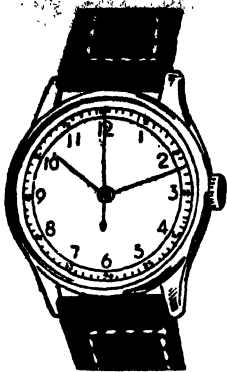
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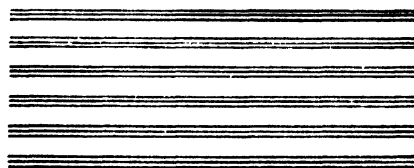
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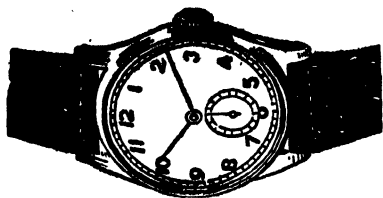
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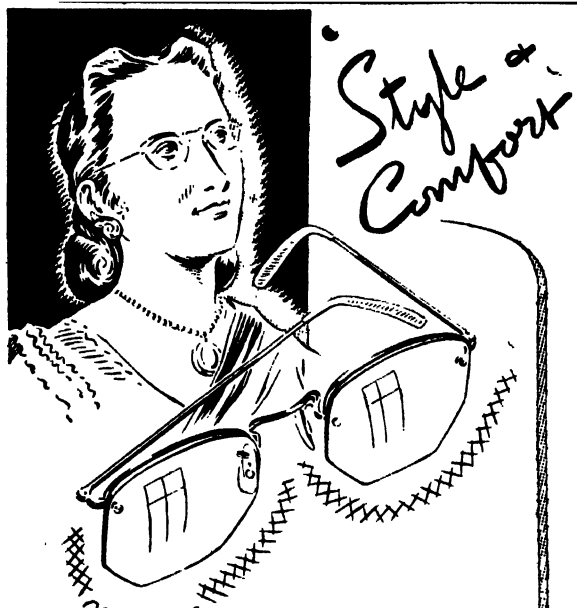
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